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THE BOUNDARY CONTROVERSY IN THE UPPER AMAZON BETWEEN BRAZIL, BOLIVIA, AND PERU, 1903-1909

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, the headwaters of the Amazon became the setting for an economic and political contest between Brazil, Bolivia, and Peru. This intensified a long-standing territorial dispute, which was peacefully resolved before the end of the first decade of the twentieth century largely through the statesmanship of José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Baron do Rio-Branco, Brazilian foreign minister from 1902 until his death in 1912.

The demand of the machine age for rubber drew citizens of the three neighboring nations into these remote and insalubrious regions and raised to incandescence disputes over limits that had lain dormant for a generation. The region in question lies to the west and south of the Brazilian state of Amazonas. This member of the federation appears on the map like an outstretched hand that grasps half a dozen or more rivers that flow from the Cordillera of the Andes to form the Amazon. It constitutes the westernmost thrust of the Brazilian Empire and might well symbolize to the Spanish-speaking peoples of the southern continent the secular push of the Portuguese.

On the map, the Brazilian Territory of Acre appears adjacent to Amazonas on the southeast. It looks like a piece of the state that had been cut off diagonally, given a different color, and then set back. This appendage of the state of

Amazonas was for upwards of forty years the focal point of this tripartite frontier controversy.

Few other regions can equal this for the number of great waterways, or for difficult names. The rivers have not only Spanish, Portuguese, and Indian designations, but frequently two or more of each. In the present study we are concerned with nothing north of the Apapóris River, which on the map strikes the Japurá or Caquetá just east of the 70th parallel of south latitude. If we glance southward we shall notice next the Içã or Putumayo, which joins the Amazon between the 68th and 69th parallel of longitude. Below the Putumayo lies the great coil of the Amazon, rolling in across the present Brazilian-Peruvian border from Iquitos, at that point already swollen by the waters of the Marañon. From Iquitos to the border the great stream is known as the Solimões. Still farther south flows the Javary, joining the Solimões at the ancient Brazilian fort of Tabatinga, not far from Leticia. South of the Javary the Juruá, the Purús, and the Acre or Aquiry drain the Acre territory.

The main streams of the Juruá and Purús flow obliquely across Amazonas to the Amazon River in a northeasterly direction. Farther to the east the Madeira runs to the Amazon, almost parallel with the Purús. Above its twenty-six cataracts, the Madeira receives the waters of the short Abuná, the long Madre de Dios or Mayu-ta-ta, the Orton, and the Beni. The most southerly stream germane to the present story is the Guaporé, which forms part of the boundary of the Brazilian state of Matto Grosso and is one of the chief affluents of the Madeira-Mamoré.¹

All this region was thousands of miles from the original line of demarcation agreed upon by Spain and Portugal at Tordesillas in 1494; but in their search for gold, diamonds, or Indians for slaves, the Portuguese had ignored that frontier and had pushed steadily westward, until in the eighteenth

¹ Arthur Duarte Ribeiro, *Carta Geographica do Brasil* (Comp. Lith. Ypiranga, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, 2d ed., 1927).

century the Spanish Crown had difficulty in stopping them in the upper Amazon and in the vicinity of the fall line of its tributaries.

An attempt was made to halt the Lusitanian advance in 1750 and in 1777. By the provisions of two treaties signed respectively at Madrid and at San Ildefonso, the boundary was to extend along the bed of the Guaporé and Mamoré rivers to a point equidistant from the Amazonas and the mouth of the Mamoré. From that spot it was to follow an east-to-west line as far as the eastern bank of the Javary River, go down this river to its confluence with the Amazon, and proceed along the latter to the most northerly mouth of the Japurá. Here the matter rested until the reign of Dom Pedro II., who, as emperor of Brazil, inherited all the territorial disputes of the Braganzas with the Spanish Bourbons.

The starting point of the east-to-west line was not given in the treaties, but was later calculated by the Portuguese astronomer, Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, to be the parallel of 8° 4', where the Gyparaná or Machado River joins the Madeira.² But the Portuguese went far south of this line. They opposed the creation of villages by the Spanish Jesuits on the east bank of the Guaporé and attempted to found settlements of their own. They were very active in the middle of the eighteenth century, founding Villa Bella in 1752, São José, opposite the confluence of the Corumbiara with the Guaporé, in 1756, Bôa Viagem, on the Salto Grande of the Madeira, in 1758, and the village of Balsemão, at the third cataract of the same river in 1768. In 1760, they built a fort on the site of the Spanish mission of Santa Rosa and, in 1776, established the fort of Príncipe da Beira and the ephemeral village of Vizeu. In 1798, the Portuguese king issued a *carta régia* prescribing rules for the navigation of the Madeira.³

² Fernando Antonio Raja Gabaglia, *As Fronteiras do Brasil* (Typ. do *Jornal do Commercio*, de Rodrigues & C., Rio de Janeiro, 1916), sec. 158, p. 270.

³ Gabaglia, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

By the time of Dom Pedro II., the Brazilians claimed possession of the Madeira beyond the line of the eighteenth century treaties. Moreover, in negotiating boundary settlements with limitrophe states the imperial statesmen rejected the boundaries of 1750 and 1777 on the ground that both treaties had become invalid by subsequent events. The treaty of 1750 had been voided by the pact signed at El Pardo in 1761. The San Ildefonso agreement of October 1, 1777, was, the imperial government maintained, merely a preliminary treaty. The demarcation provided for by its terms had not been completed; the treaty had lapsed during the war between Spain and Portugal in 1801 and had not been renewed by the peace of Badajoz. In consequence, the Brazilian Government relied solely upon actual possession, or *uti possidetis de facto*. The ancient treaties might be followed merely as guides. Chief among the proponents of this doctrine was the viscount of Rio-Branco, father of the Baron do Rio-Branco, and one of the leading political figures of the empire.⁴ The governments of Bolivia and Peru, and other Spanish-descended neighbors of Brazil, clung to the doctrine of *uti possidetis juris*, or the boundaries established by the old treaties as well as the domestic decrees of the Spanish Crown by which administrative subdivisions were created in the Indies.

The imperial government tried to delimit its boundaries with Peru by a treaty concluded on October 23, 1851,⁵ and with Bolivia by one signed on March 27, 1867.⁶ In the negotiations preceding the treaty of 1851 the Brazilian Government insisted upon the invalid character of the treaty of 1777 and the Peruvians reluctantly accepted actual possession as

⁴ Baron do Rio-Branco, *Boundary Question between Brazil and the Argentine Republic* (Knickerbocker Press, New York, 1894), 1. 8 f.

⁵ Special Convention of Commerce, Navigation, and Limits, signed at Lima. Eng. text, *British and Foreign State Papers*, 1852-1853, LXII. 1808-1812.

⁶ Portuguese text, Antonio Pereira Pinto, *Apontamentos para o Direito Internacional ou Collecção Completa dos Tratados celebrados pelo Brasil*. (Typographia Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1869), IV. 535-545.

a basis, thereby agreeing to a disavowal of the colonial treaty.⁷

The boundary was to begin at "the hamlet of Tabatinga", and was to extend from there

in a direct line to the north as far as the River Japurá, opposite the mouth of the Apapóris; and to the south of Tabatinga the River Javary from its confluence with the Amazonas.⁸

Thus Brazil's boundary with Peru from Tabatinga north was to run along an artificial line and from Tabatinga south would be the entire course of the Javary. As the pact did not stipulate the southern terminal, it was later agreed by the two governments that the line should end at 9° 30' south latitude, or at whatever point farther south the as yet undiscovered source of the Javary should be found to be located.⁹

But in 1863, after the appearance of a geography written by D. Mateo Paz Soldán, director general of public works of Peru,¹⁰ the Lima government began to urge that the imperial government consent to fix the frontier along an east-to-west line drawn from the left bank of the Javary. This marked a return to the treaty of 1777, the sole basis for such a limit.¹¹

Four years later the imperial government came to terms with Bolivia over limits to territory of which a portion was in dispute between Bolivia and Peru. A "Treaty of Amity, Limits, Navigation, Commerce and Extradition" was signed at La Paz on March 27, 1867,¹² by Dr. Felipe Lopes Netto for

⁷ Baron do Rio-Branco, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Brazil, *O Tratado de 8 de Setembro de 1909 entre os Estados Unidos do Brasil e a República do Perú* (Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1910), pp. 9 f. This volume contains the report of Rio-Branco to the president giving details of the controversy and the negotiation of the treaty with Peru and has a valuable documentary appendix as well as two official maps.

⁸ Art. VII.

⁹ Note, December 20, 1867, J. A. Barrenchea, Min. of For. Affairs of Peru, to the Bolivian Government, Rio-Branco, *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 17 f.

¹⁰ *Corographia do Peru*. (D. Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, Paris, 1863.)

¹¹ Rio-Branco, *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 10 f.

¹² *Supra*, Note 6.

Brazil, and D. Mariano Donato Muñoz on behalf of the Bolivian Government.

As in the treaty of 1851 with Peru, in the Lopes-Netto-Muñoz convention, Brazil and Bolivia respectively accepted actual possession as a basis and carried the starting point for the original east-to-west line of the treaty of San Ildefonso to the junction of the Beni and Mamoré Rivers, or 10° 20' south latitude. The frontier was to follow a parallel "drawn from the left bank of the Madeira River in south latitude 10° 20' until it met the Javary River." It was further stipulated that if the headwaters of the Javary should prove to be north of the east-to-west line, the boundary should extend along a straight line drawn to the principal headwater of the Javary.¹³

The framers neglected to state at what point on the parallel 10° 20' the straight line should begin, but from December, 1867, the opinion was adopted officially that the line was to be drawn obliquely to the equator from the mouth of the Beni to the source of the Javary.¹⁴ Thus the farther south the source of the Javary should lie, the more territory would fall to Brazil, and the farther north, the more to Bolivia.

The acceptance of the oblique line by the Brazilian Government was adversely criticized in Brazil, for it was believed that the idea of the framers of the eighteenth century treaties as well as that of 1867 was to follow a parallel; moreover, the frontier was represented as a parallel in the official Brazilian map drawn by Marshal Conrado J. Niemeyer, as well as in the official Bolivian map published in 1859. Only after the exploration of the Javary did the idea of the substitution of an oblique line occur, and this meant the loss to Brazil of a large area of which it was already in possession by exploration and settlement.¹⁵

By the close of 1867, then, Brazil's frontiers with Peru and Bolivia had been delimited and remained only to be de-

¹³ Art. II.

¹⁴ Raja Gabaglia, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

¹⁵ Raja Gabaglia, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

marked by the joint commissions provided for in the treaties.

But the situation was now complicated by the protest of Peru upon the conclusion of the Lopez-Netto-Muñoz treaty that Bolivia and Brazil could not thus dispose of lands in dispute between Bolivia and Peru without a settlement first between the latter powers. Dr. J. A. Barrenechea, Peruvian foreign minister, informed the La Paz Government in a note on December 20, 1867, that his government must reserve the rights of Peru to territories which it claimed, and must insist upon the observance of the treaty of 1851, which had been ratified by a fluvial agreement in 1858.¹⁶

Dr. Donato Muñoz, Bolivian minister for foreign affairs, replied to Peru on February 6, 1868, with the assurance that Bolivian rights would be fully respected and reminded him that the stipulation in Article VII of the Brazilian-Peruvian Treaty of 1851 to the effect that only the left bank of the Javary should be Peruvian, while the right bank should be Brazilian, would exclude Peru from any interest in the territory that was asserted to be in controversy between itself and Brazil.¹⁷

From 1874 to 1901, Brazil and Bolivia tried to agree upon the location of the source of the Javary. In the former year, a Brazilian-Peruvian commission reported that the source was at 7° 01' 17" south latitude and 74° 8' 27" longitude west of Greenwich, and this was accepted by Brazil and Bolivia in a protocol signed on February 19, 1895.¹⁸ A subsequent survey by the Brazilian captain, Cunha Gomez, disclosed an error of 10° 30' 6" in the findings of the joint commission and established the headwaters of the river once and for all as the Jacquirana River, which he found in 7° 11' 48" 10 south latitude and 73° 47' 44" 5 longitude west of Greenwich. Brazil

¹⁶ Rio-Branco, *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 16 f.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18 f.

¹⁸ J. M. Cardoso de Oliveira, *Actos Diplomáticos do Brasil* (Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, de Rodrigues & C., Rio de Janeiro, 1912), II. 211. Hereinafter "*Act. Dipl.*"

would have lost about 242 square leagues by the error. Accordingly the two governments in a protocol concluded on October 30, 1899, agreed upon a fresh exploration of the region.¹⁹ A monument was finally raised by the mixed commission at 7° 06' 55" 3 south latitude and 73° 47' 30" 6 longitude west of Greenwich. Brazil would have lost territory by even this demarcation, and a Belgian geographer expressed the opinion at the time that it would appear that the spirit of the treaty of 1867 was misconstrued. It is unlikely that the imperial government in the middle of the nineteenth century supposed that the source would be found so far north of the parallel of 10° 20'.²⁰

While the chancelleries of three nations were scanning documents and charts a steady stream of Brazilians was pouring into the rubber-laden valleys of the upper Purús and its tributaries, the Acre, the Hyuaco or Yaco, the Chandless, and the Manoel Urbano. In 1879, there was a great influx from drought-stricken Ceará. Brazilian *seringueiros* also sought the precious gum on the tributaries of the upper Juruá, in the insect-infested forests along the banks of the Moa, the Juruá-mirim, the Amonea, the Tejo, and the Bren. By 1900, there were more than 60,000 Brazilians in the Acre region, and all south of the oblique line which frock-coated gentlemen in foreign offices were trying to make the northerly limit of Bolivian jurisdiction. One-third of these Brazilian rubber hunters were in the upper Acre region, to the south of Caquetá. The Brazilian pioneers seemed to have no respect for the Bolivian boundary when they could see a rubber tree on the other side,²¹ and it is doubtful that they always knew where the line was.

¹⁹ *Act. Dipl.*, II. 272.

²⁰ F. A. Georlette, *Les frontières de la République du Brésil et ses contestations de frontières avec les Etats Limitrophes* (Extrait du Bulletin de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Anvers, Imprimerie Veuve de Backer, Antwerp, 1899), p. 12.

²¹ Rio-Branco, *Exposição ao Presidente da Republica*, reproduced in part in Eugene Werner's *Anthologia Brasileira* (Livreria Francisco Alves, Rio de Janeiro, 1930), p. 370. Col. G. E. Church, "The Acre Territory," *Geographical Journal*, XXIII. (1904), 598 f.

Peruvians, also, started to come into the Juruá and Purús in 1896, after they had destroyed their own forests of *caucho* (*Castilloa elastica*) in the Ucayale River valley.²²

In the meantime, the far away government at La Paz tried to exercise jurisdiction over the area south of the oblique line from 10° 20' to the source of the Javary. In 1890, were created the delegations of the Acre, Purús, and the Madre de Dios. Bolivia's hope for an outlet to the sea, as celebrated in South American history as Russia's hunger for a warm-water port, was at stake in this region, as possession of Acre would give egress to the Atlantic by way of the Aquiry and Purús rivers. The rapid development of the rubber industry and the vast wealth which it promised made the question more than academic. The only other outlet was by the Mamoré to the Madeira, but this was blocked by the falls of the Madeira, which extend for about 424 kilometers from Guajará-mirim to Santo Antonio. The latter port, 1533 miles from the Atlantic, can be reached by sea-going vessels.

Bolivia's first attempt to use the Aquiry waterway was the establishment, in January, 1899, of a custom house at Puerto Alonso on the left bank of the river, scarcely seven miles above the Brazilian town of Caquetá and just on the Bolivian side of the oblique line. The arbitrary conduct of the custom officer provoked the antagonism of the Brazilians in the Acre region and moved the authorities of the state of Amazonas to protest to Rio de Janeiro. Not only did the Bolivian custom officer place a head tax on Brazilians in the rubber region, but he decreed a Bolivian monopoly of the carrying trade on the Aquiry and further collected a thirty per cent export tax on all rubber going down the river. This deprived the state of Amazonas of revenue that it had been enjoying.²³

Relations between Brazil and Bolivia were not improved when it transpired that the Bolivian Congress on December

²² Rio-Branco, *O Tratado de 1909*, p. 24.

²³ Georlette, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 f.

20, 1901, had granted virtually sovereign powers in the Acre Territory to the Bolivian Syndicate of New York, an Anglo-American company.²⁴ This action was viewed by the Brazilian Government not only as a flagrant disregard of Brazilian interests in the Acre region, but as an attempt to introduce to South America the system of chartered companies employed by European governments in Africa.

A series of protesting notes brought no change of policy on the part of the La Paz Government and Brazil resorted to reprisals. On August 8, 1902, the Rio de Janeiro Government closed the Amazon to Bolivian commerce, holding that the free navigation of that stream by adjacent riparian states was a privilege revocable at any time in the absence of a reciprocal agreement.²⁵

At this juncture, the Brazilian population of Acre rose against the Bolivian authorities, and under the leadership of Colonel Plácido de Castro, soon held the entire territory except Puerto Alonso, or Porto Acre, where the Bolivian forces resisted until January, 1903. The insurgents proclaimed their independence and sought annexation by Brazil. The president of Bolivia, General Pando, himself headed an expedition in March to suppress the insurrection and give possession to the syndicate. Troops were sent from Rio de Janeiro to protect Brazilian interests. Feeling was running high in both countries, and a war that might even involve Peru appeared threatening.

In November, 1902, Baron do Rio-Branco accepted the post of foreign minister from his old classmate, Rodrigues Alves, who had recently been elected president of Brazil. Rio-Branco was a shrewd diplomat, a diligent student of the his-

²⁴ Charter, Brazil, *Relatório das Relações Exteriores*, 1902, Anexos 1 and 2, pp. 3-20. Cf. Clovis Bevilacqua, *Direito Público Internacional* (Alves, Rio de Janeiro, 1910), I, sec. 5, IV. pp. 40 f., and John Bassett Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, I, sec. 131.

²⁵ Brazil, *Rel. das Rel. Exter.*, 1902-1903, Anexo 1, No. 50, p. 84. Cf. Note of February 20, 1903, Rio-Branco to Mr. Eugene Seeger, *loc. cit.*, Anexo 1, No. 66, pp. 121-123.

tory and geography of his own country and also a prodigious worker. He had already won the esteem of his countrymen by his successful advocacy of Brazil's case in boundary arbitrations with Argentina and France. Intensely patriotic, he nevertheless could see South American interests in the large and favored a pacific settlement wherever possible. This he demonstrated during his remarkably long career as foreign minister, which terminated only with his death in 1912. Under his able direction Brazil's prestige was raised abroad and its remaining boundary disputes settled peaceably.²⁶

Rio-Branco saw four phases to the Acre question: first, the protests of the United States and other foreign powers over the embargo placed upon Bolivian trade; secondly, liability for damage claims because the Anglo-American Syndicate could not fulfil its obligations; thirdly, public sympathy in Brazil for nationals in Acre and the impossibility of aiding them without offending a friendly power; and fourthly, the need for a definitive solution of the question of the ownership not only of Acre between the oblique line and the parallel of 10° 20' but also the southern portion, with the Xapury River and the western region, equally populated by Brazilians.

The new chancellor silenced foreign protests by lifting the embargo against Bolivia on February 20, 1903, except for war materials.²⁷ This act paved the way for the negotiation of a *modus vivendi*, concluded on March 21, 1903. By its terms Brazil was to occupy and administer the territory in litigation, namely, the region north of 10° 20' and to have the right to intervene to keep order in the locality south and east of this area. Brazil recognized that all territory south of 10° 20' was Bolivian and Brazil might maintain custom houses in the area under Brazilian control with the understanding that Bolivia was to receive fifty per cent of the revenue collected from rubber shipments descending the upper Acre. Arbitra-

²⁶ João Pandiá Calogeras, "Rio Branco e a Política exterior," *Res Nostra* (Irmãos Ferraz, S. Paulo, 1930), pp. 98 f., *passim*.

²⁷ Brasil, *Rel. das Rel. Exter.*, 1902-1903, Annex. 1, No. 53, p. 86.

tion was to be invoked if a satisfactory agreement were not reached within four months.²⁸

Meanwhile Rio-Branco eliminated the Anglo-American Syndicate as a factor by obtaining the consent of Bolivia to induce them to renounce their concessions upon payment by Brazil to the Syndicate of £110,000.

Negotiations were then begun in Petropolis for the settlement of the boundary. Ruy Barbosa, one of the Brazilian negotiators, favored arbitration, but the baron deemed such a slow process inadvisable in view of the warlike feeling between the two peoples. Besides, an award unfavorable to Brazil would not satisfy the Brazilians in the Acre region. Moreover Brazil had for thirty-five years considered Bolivia to be in possession of the territory between the oblique line Javary-Beni and the parallel of 10° 20' South and had recognized Bolivian sovereignty therein, agreeing to the establishment of a Bolivian custom house at Puerto Alonso and even stationing a Brazilian consul there.²⁹

By dint of tact, patience, and formidable documentary and cartographic exhibits, the Brazilian negotiators persuaded the Bolivian commissioners to agree to an exchange of territory and thus establish a boundary. A treaty was signed at Petropolis on November 17, 1903 by Rio-Branco and J. F. de Assis Brasil on behalf of Brazil and by Fernando E. Guachalla, Bolivian minister in Brazil, and Dr. Claudio Pinella, minister for foreign affairs of Bolivia.³⁰

By the treaty of Petropolis, Bolivia agreed to cede not only that part of the Acre territory in dispute, but a considerable portion of the basin of the Acre River south of 10° 20' to which its title was unquestioned, comprising about 191,-

²⁸ Portuguese text, *Rel. das Rel. Ext.*, 1902-1903, Annex 1, No. 32, pp. 66 f. For negotiations, same *Relatorio*, Exposição, pp. 4-28.

²⁹ Rio-Branco, *Exposição que ao Sr. Presidente da Republica dirigiu o Sr. Ministro das Relações Exteriores* (Camara dos Deputados, Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1904), p. 9.

³⁰ Eng., Brit. and For. State Papers, XCVI. 383 ff. Port., Brazil, *Diario Oficial*, March 15, 1904.

000 square kilometers. Brazil, on the other hand, ceded to Bolivia a small but valuable triangle of land, 2,296 square kilometers in extent between the Madeira and the Abuná rivers. This was to give Bolivia access to the Madeira. Brazil further ceded four marshy pieces of land on the western bank of the Paraguay River, totaling about 3,164.16 square kilometers, namely, at the Bahia Negra, 723.06 square kilometers; at the Lagôa Cáceres, 116.60 square kilometers, at the Lagôa Mandioré, 20.30 square kilometers, and at the Lagôa Gaiba, 8.20 square kilometers.

These concessions along the frontier of Matto Grosso were a development of the treaty of March 27, 1867, by which the Brazilian frontier had been pushed back eastwardly for the purpose of giving Bolivia five ports on these lakes with an outlet to the Paragúay. This was not just sheer altruism as the diplomats of the empire had hoped to divert into Matto Grosso the commerce of southwest Bolivia.

To compensate Bolivia for whatever that country might have lost by the unequal cessions—191,000 square kilometers on its part and only 3,164 by Brazil—Brazil agreed to pay an indemnity of £2,000,000 for the improvement of communications between the two countries. Brazil further agreed to construct at its own expense and on Brazilian territory a railway around the cataracts of the Madeira, which would give Bolivia access to the lower Madeira.

In the treaty of 1867, Brazil had granted liberal concessions for the building of such a railroad, but the enterprise had been abandoned after a start had been made. The Bolivian Government tried to divert some of the funds to the national treasury and otherwise frustrated completion of the project.³¹

The so-called Madeira-Mamoré railroad was constructed as promised along the right bank of the Madeira. American engineers completed it in July, 1912, after overcoming obstacles in sanitation as well as in engineering.³² The road is

³¹ Church, *op. cit.*, p. 598.

³² *Encyclopédia e Dicionário Internacional* (W. M. Jackson, Inc., Rio de Janeiro, . . .), III. 1706.

still in operation but has failed to fulfil the hopes of its builders because of the ruin of the rubber industry in the Amazon Valley.

The treaty of Petropolis provided for freedom of navigation. The new boundaries were to be surveyed by a joint commission, with disputes referable to the Royal Geographical Society. Provision was also made for an arbitral tribunal to adjudicate the claims of individuals affected by the exchange of territories.

Since the treaty of Petropolis there has been no serious issue between the two countries. Rio-Branco recognized that Bolivia had rights in the Acre region as well as Brazil, despite the chauvinists of his own country. A distinguished geographer wrote at the time that the treaty was a credit to the two nations and showed that Rio-Branco was a statesman of the first rank. "The treaty goes far towards making the grand inland reservoir of the Amazon an international sea, to be used in common by all the republics which have rivers flowing into it," he said.

They are practically told that, by friendly agreement, they may side by side with the Brazilian custom houses, collect their own import dues and freely carry on their foreign trade in transit. This is a long step in advance, when compared with the policy which ruled in colonial days. It holds out the hand of good fellowship between the descendants of the Portuguese and Spaniards and promises to break down many of the prejudices which they unhappily took with them to the New World.³³

There remained the question with Peru, to which events now turned the attention of Rio-Branco. The Peruvian Government claimed approximately 191,000 square kilometers of the territory that Brazil had received by the Treaty of Petropolis. Bolivia and Peru, on December 30, 1902, before the conclusion of the Petropolis agreement, had agreed to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the president of the Argen-

³³ Col. G. E. Church, "The Acre Territory and the Caoutchouc Region of South-Western Amazonia," *The Geographical Journal*, XXIII. (1904), 612 f.

tine Republic. Brazil was not a party to the *compromis*, which was ratified on March 6, 1904, after Bolivia had apparently conveyed part of the lands in dispute to Brazil.³⁴

The Peruvian Government tried to get Rio-Branco's consent to an agreement for a mixed tribunal to be set up by Brazil, Peru, and Bolivia to discuss the three-power question. The baron refused, not only because the dispute with Bolivia demanded an immediate settlement, but by reason of the fact that the differences between Bolivia and Peru were over titles emanating from Spain, the validity of which Brazil as a successor of Portugal could not admit. He foresaw a long process, with one of three results: (a) a union of Peru and Brazil against Bolivia, which would demand of Brazil the sacrifice of at least the upper Juruá, a region long occupied by Brazilians; (b) a combination of Peru and Bolivia against Brazil; or (c) an alignment of Bolivia and Brazil against Peru. The result would be either a rupture, or a tripartite treaty of arbitration, which experience had shown in the case of Peru, Ecuador, and Colombia, to be unsuccessful. Nothing had resulted from the agreement of these three nations³⁵ in 1894 to submit their questions of limits to the king of Spain.

Peru had sought an invitation to participate in the Petropolis parleys, but the Brazilian Government took the attitude that it was more simple and practical to treat first with one of two litigants before starting with the other. Brazil had done this in other disputes over limits, and Peru had also in 1851 first made an arrangement with Brazil in order that it might do the same later with Ecuador before treating with Colombia.³⁶

After the conclusion of the Petropolis agreement, the Lima Government protested that Peruvian rights had been put in jeopardy and that Brazil had bought from Bolivia titles of

³⁴ William R. Manning, *Arbitration Treaties among the American Nations* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1904), No. 171, pp. 34 ff.

³⁵ *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 21 ff.

³⁶ President Rodrigues Alves, *Mensagem ao Congresso Nacional*, May 3, 1904, pp. 12 f.

Spanish origin which the latter had used in defending its title to the Juruá and the Purús against Peru. Rio-Branco replied that the truth was that in 1867 the imperial government, by virtue of the rule of *uti possidetis* then accepted by Brazil and Bolivia, might have retained more territory than it had. Instead, it relinquished territory rightfully belonging to Brazil, partly through regard for Bolivia and partly to keep the goodwill of the other American nations during its war with Paraguay. Rio-Branco maintained that Brazil was not a cessionary of Bolivia in 1903 but that it had merely regained lands that it rightfully owned.³⁷ Brazil had not only recovered almost all of the territory in the upper Purus and Juruá that had been implicitly ceded to its neighbor in 1867, territory which had a numerous Brazilian population, but had also acquired the rights claimed by Bolivia in the basin of the Ucayale, north of the 11th parallel of south latitude.

As in the case of the controversy with Bolivia in 1902, the situation on the Brazilian-Peruvian frontier was assuming a dangerous aspect in 1904. As early as the seventies, Brazilians had gone into the Juruá region, occupying as far as the banks of the Amonea and the Tejo and, by 1891, had penetrated to a little beyond the mouth of the Breu River. These three streams are among the headwaters of the Juruá and rise in the Serra Contamamas, which now forms part of the boundary between the Acre Territory and Peru. Brazilians had also settled on the Purús, occupying from 1893 on, territory at the confluence of the Araçá or Chandless River, founding the same year the settlements of Porto Mamboré and Triunfo Novo. In 1891, they had explored upstream as far as the mouth of the Dourado or Hauacapista. From 1898 on, the Santa Rosa or Curinahá was the limit of Brazilian occupation. This stream had been explored in 1861 by the *sertanejo*, Manoel Urbano de Encarnação, as far as the confluence of the Cavaljane, at the headwaters.³⁸

³⁷ *O Tratado de 1903*, pp. 14 ff.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

Friction developed between Peruvian rubber hunters and Brazilians after the Peruvians came from the Ucayale Valley into the Acre country. The first merchants and explorers began to appear in 1896 with Indian laborers along certain affluents of the Juruá and obtained rubber lands from the Brazilians by purchase, lease, or mere tolerance. In October, 1901, the first company of Peruvian *caucho* hunters appeared in the upper Purús. There were numerous conflicts. As early as 1897, Peruvians who sought to establish themselves on the Juruá-mirim encountered the resistance of the Brazilian settlers and on October 21, 1902, a Peruvian commissioner, with soldiers and armed *caucheiros*, tried to take possession of the territory in the name of the Brazilian Government. Despite the objections of the Brazilians, on November 16, he set up a military post and custom house on the left bank of the Amonea, giving the place the name of Nuevo Iquitos.³⁹

Similar events took place farther south on the Purús. On June 22, 1903, a Peruvian commissioner tried to occupy administratively territory already occupied by Brazilians at the entrance of the Chandless River, but he met with the armed resistance of the settlers there. The following March, a Peruvian military detachment accompanied by armed *caucheiros* took by surprise and without resistance the Brazilian posts of Sobral, Funil, and Cruzeiro; but finally withdrew because of the threat of armed opposition of other settlers on the Purús. The Peruvians asserted that the Brazilians had shot five non-combatants at Funil; the Brazilians made the countercharge that of thirteen unarmed Brazilians who had been taken prisoner by the Peruvians, only three had escaped. The others had been shot by the Peruvians.⁴⁰

Rio-Branco sent vigorous protests to the Lima Government against the despatch of armed forces into the Acre Territory. He received no response and in May, 1904, in retaliation obtained from his government a decree prohibiting

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26 f.

the transit over the Amazon of war material destined for Peru. In a note of May 16, 1904, to the Peruvian Government, Rio-Branco held that the right of transit granted to Peru in the commercial treaty of October 10, 1891, came into conflict

with the natural and absolute right which Brazil possesses to prevent and impede, as much as possible, future aggressions which would disturb the peace still further.⁴¹

During the embargo, the authorities at Manáos removed from a vessel from Europe arms sent to a Peruvian port.

Both governments appeared to realize the danger of the pass to which affairs had come and negotiations were opened on May 8, 1904. Rio-Branco asked for the immediate evacuation by Peru of the entire region inhabited by Brazilians and proposed the neutralization of the upper Juruá from its sources to the confluence of the Breu, and also of the upper Purús from its headwaters to the confluence of the Manoel Urbano River.

Two agreements were signed in Rio de Janeiro on July 12, 1904, the first having as object the prevention of further conflicts in the Juruá and Purús regions until the two governments could come to terms, and the second the establishment of an arbitral tribunal for the purpose of settling the claims of Brazilians and Peruvians arising from the occurrences in the same regions.⁴² The tribunal was set up on January 15, 1906, and functioned until June 30, 1910, adjudging during that period 91 claims, of which 74 were against Brazil and 17 against Peru.⁴³

In Article VIII of the treaty of Petropolis, Brazil had stipulated that it would treat directly with Peru concerning the frontiers of the territory included between the source of the Javary and the 11th parallel of south latitude. In the

⁴¹ John Bassett Moore, *Brazil and Peru Boundary Question* (New York, [1904], pp. 28 ff.

⁴² *Actos Diplomaticos*, II. 324 f.

⁴³ President Hermes da Fonseca, *Mensagem ao Cong. Nac.*, May 3, 1911, p. 15.

provisional agreement of July 12, 1904, with Brazil Peru agreed to treat on this basis. Recourse was to be had, if diplomacy failed, to mediation or arbitration.

For the period of the discussions the two governments agreed to neutralize the following areas:

(a) the basin of the upper Juruá, from the sources of that river and of its upper affluents to the mouth and left bank of the River Breu, and from that point westward below the parallel of latitude running through the mouth of the Breu, as far as the boundary of the basin of the Juruá; and

(b) the basin of the upper Purús, from the parallel of 11° south latitude to the place called Catay, inclusive.⁴⁴

Thus there was left under Brazilian jurisdiction the areas in which almost all of the population was Brazilian, namely, all of the Juruá basin north of the Rio Breu and north and west of the mouth of the Breu as far as the watershed between the Juruá and the Ucayale. Peru agreed to abandon its military and custom post at the mouth of the Amonea, and the fiscal agency at Saboeiro, on the Amonea.

The neutralized territory was to be administered by two mixed commissions; and two fiscal posts, one at the junction of the Breu and Juruá rivers and the other at Catay, were to be established under the joint direction of the two powers. Meanwhile, two joint technical commissions were to explore the upper Juruá and the upper Purús for the purpose of collecting geographical data that would facilitate a settlement.

The task of the commissioners proved to be a difficult one because of the nature of the terrain and the large area to be covered. The time was extended, first until September 20, 1907, and finally, until May 31, 1908. The diplomatic discussions also had to be extended until September 30, 1909, because of the interruptions suffered by the absence of the Peruvian minister on leave and the delay in appointing his successor.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Art. III, agreement of July 12, 1904.

⁴⁵ *Actos Diplomáticos*, II. 325.

This was a case in which Rio-Branco's long and continuous service as foreign minister enabled him to keep alive negotiations that otherwise might have been dropped.

The Argentine award was given to Bolivia and Peru on July 9, 1909. The arbiter, President José Figueroa Alcorta, had been empowered to attribute to Bolivia "all the territory which in 1810 belonged to the audiencia of Charcas, within the limits of the viceroyalty of Buenos Aires by acts of the former Spanish sovereign" and to Peru "all the territory which on the same date, and by acts of equal derivation, belonged to the viceroyalty of Lima."⁴⁶ The arbiter found that Bolivia could claim no territory east of the 69th parallel of longitude west of Greenwich, from the Tahuamano River north. The present Bolivian-Peruvian boundary follows this award, although Bolivians were dissatisfied with the line laid down by the Argentine president and agreed with Peru on September 15, 1909, to make certain changes in it.⁴⁷ Thus more than half of the territory that Peru claimed from Brazil was placed out of question. This region, to which Brazil claimed incontestable ownership, was bounded on the north by the Javary-Madeira line of the preliminary treaty of 1777, on the west by the 69th meridian, on the east by the Madeira River, and on the south by the frontiers established between Brazil and Bolivia by the treaty of Petropolis.⁴⁸

Even had the award been entirely favorable to Peru, it could not have affected adversely the rights received by Brazil from Bolivia by the treaty of Petropolis, for not only was Brazil not a party to the cause, but the arbiter was to base his decision upon the purely domestic decrees of the Spanish Crown. The cession by Bolivia to Brazil of all its rights to a portion of the territories covered by the *compromis* did not

⁴⁶ *Supra*, n. 34.

⁴⁷ Capt. H. S. Toppin, "The Diplomatic History of the Peru-Bolivia Boundary," *Geographical J.*, XLVII. (1916), 90.

⁴⁸ *O Tratado de 1909*, p. 34.

alter the terms of the *compromis*, nor did it admit Brazil to the arbitration.⁴⁹

Rio-Branco succeeded in terminating the long drawn out negotiations with Peru on September 8, 1909. On that day, in Rio de Janeiro, he signed with the Peruvian minister, Dr. Hernán Velarde, a treaty with the object of

completing the determination of the frontiers between the two countries and establishing general principles to govern their commerce and navigation in the basin of the Amazonas.⁵⁰

The negotiators, like those of 1851, adopted *uti possidetis* as a principle, based upon the findings of the technical commissions of 1905.⁵¹ The commissioners found that on the Juruá, north of the Breu, and on the Purús, north of the Santa Rosa, almost all of the settlements and virtually the entire population were Brazilian. Only south of these limits were Peruvians found. The Brazilian commissioner on the upper Purús reported that at least four-fifths of this river was inhabited by Brazilians. Sobral, founded in latitude 9° 15' 07" south was the last outpost against the jungle.

In the negotiations, Rio-Branco declared that Brazil had occupied effectively since 1851 the southern bank of the Amazon and the banks and lower courses of its affluents east of the Javary River. He contended that this gave his country title to the source of these affluents by virtue of the rule laid down by the United States Government on April 20, 1805, when treating with Spain concerning the boundaries of Louisiana, namely, that possession of the seacoast extends to the back country and to the sources of the rivers emptying into the coast, to all their branches, and to the country covered.

⁴⁹ Olof Høijer, *La Solution Pacifique des Litiges Internationaux* (Editions "Spes," Paris, 1925), pp. 259-261.

⁵⁰Port. text, Brazil, *Diario Oficial*, May 5, 1910; Port. and Span., *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 39-47.

⁵¹ *Relatorio da Comissão mixta Brasileiro-Peruana de Reconhecimento do Alto Purús. Notas complementares do Commissario Brasileiro, 1904-1905*, with map. (Imprensa Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1906).

This same principle was invoked on other occasions by the United States, especially in support of its claims in the Oregon Territory. In the instance under discussion, as Judge Moore points out,

Brazil . . . added to her hereditary right as the first occupant of the lower course, the highest confirmation by first actual settlement of the upper course and its affluents.⁵²

The Brazilian chancellor brought to light the fact that the makers of the Peruvian maps had erred in setting the line of the treaty of 1777 along the parallel of 6° 52' 15" south. The true line, as shown on the Brazilian map of the engineer Euclides da Cunha, was that of 7° 38' 45" south.⁵³

By the Treaty of September 8, 1909, Peru conceded to Brazil all territory of which the latter was in actual possession and which was populated by Brazilians. Peru was to have, with a small addition between the parallel of Catay and the Santa Rosa River, the territories of the upper Purús and upper Juruá that were neutralized in 1904 and wherein were only Peruvian settlements.⁵⁴

The treaty completed the Brazilian-Peruvian boundary, which it will be recalled by the treaty of 1851 had begun on the Japurá or Caquetá River, opposite the mouth of the Apapóris, and ended at the source of the Javary. This line was now extended from the source of the Javary to the Acre River, to a point opposite the Yaverija River, where Peruvian territory ends and Bolivian begins, in conformity with the agreement of September 17, 1909.⁵⁵

Peru had claimed from Brazil before the treaty of Petropolis a total of 251,000 square kilometers north of the oblique Javary-Beni line. By that treaty, Brazil recovered from Bolivia 191,000 square kilometers. Thus Brazil's old litiga-

⁵² *Op. cit.*, pp. 21-23, and *cf.* I *Digest*, sec. 81, p. 263; also Oppenheim, *International Law* (3d. ed., London, 1920), sec. 225, p. 387.

⁵³ *Cf.* Annex No. 4, Map of da Cunha, *O Tratado de 1909*.

⁵⁴ *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 35 f.

⁵⁵ Detailed description of the boundary in Art. 1, treaty of September 8, 1909.

tion with Peru came to be extended over an area of 442,000 square kilometers, with a population estimated at more than 120,000. Of this area, Peru conceded to Brazil 403,000 square kilometers and Brazil to Peru about 39,000 square kilometers. The great disparity between the respective allotments was more apparent than real, according to Rio-Branco, because of the exaggerated claims made by Peru from 1863 on and by reason of the relinquishment by Brazil of titles that might have been urged to territory in the basin of the Ucayale. These had been yielded to conciliate Peru.⁵⁶

Generous reciprocal navigation privileges on rivers common to the two nations were granted in provisions similar to those of the treaty of Petropolis.

Ratifications were exchanged in Rio de Janeiro on April 30, 1910.

This terminated the Acre question so far as Brazil was concerned and today the region is a territory of the federation. The amicable settlement of this three sided boundary controversy was one of the constructive achievements of one of the ablest public men that Hispanic America has produced. In each instance, Rio-Branco was able and willing to obtain a cessation of warlike activities until an agreement was reached by direct negotiation.

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⁵⁶ *O Tratado de 1909*, pp. 35 f.

MARIANO MORENO: THE MAKING OF AN INSURGENT

The movement for independence in Hispanic America made little noticeable progress until insurgent leaders had transmitted their doctrines of revolution to the masses and had instilled into them an impassioned desire for emancipation.¹ Nevertheless, behind these "practical enterprises of the revolution there was a body of thought and opinion, forming the intellectual background of the revolution."² In the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata this intellectual movement had its beginnings in the last years of the eighteenth century, developed with a rapidly heightening intensity in the first decade of the nineteenth century, and was directly responsible for the full fury of the revolutionary activities which began in 1810. Into this movement of intellectual preparation for emancipation strode the figure of Mariano Moreno—student, lawyer, thinker, propagandist, politician, precursor of independence, and insurgent.

Many and varied causes have been advanced for the independence of the Hispanic American republics: the dissatisfaction of the creoles and mestizos; the restlessness stimulated by Spain's commercial and religious policies; the effects of the American and French Revolutions; the domestic situation in Spain; and a host of others. Among these, the first looms largest in the present consideration. The peninsular Spaniards, nearly always haughty, often wealthy, usually in control of the government and the leading commercial enterprises, looked with disdain on the creoles and

¹ Bartolomé Mitre, *The Emancipation of South America, being a condensed translation by William Pilling of The History of San Martín* (London, 1893), p. 15.

² Bernard Moses, *The Intellectual Background of the Revolution in South America, 1810-1824* (New York, 1926), p. vii.

attempted to hold them in civil subjection. The creoles made common cause with the mestizos and the rivalry which grew up between them and the Spaniards became bitter.

Matters of social relations, religion, and politics were discussed with a consuming interest by the spokesmen of the creole and mestizo elements. Their views slowly, but effectively, took on aspects of liberality which could never have developed in the conservatism of those who looked to the policies of the mother government, such as "the officials, the members of the clergy, and the holders of commercial or industrial privileges".³ Conditions in Hispanic America in the late colonial era were not materially different from what they had been for decades, but the character of clerical instruction, the persecution of the inquisition, and the restrictions of Spanish colonial policy had hitherto rendered impossible the development of political liberty. Such essential elements as the frontier environment and the expectations of pioneers in a new land had erected gross differences between the colonial mind and the Spanish mind, but the factors just mentioned served to retard the natural tendencies toward independence and political emancipation.⁴ Combustible material was everywhere prevalent in the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata near the end of the eighteenth century and men of the character of Moreno were literally "in training" at the time for the rôles they were to play.

Reared in a period when this revolutionary tinder was being prepared for ignition, educated in a city and thrown with a group in which the hope of political liberty constituted almost the sole reason for existence, and active in the first revolutionary outbursts in Buenos Aires in 1810, Mariano Moreno passed the various stages of his private life and public career in close parallel to the development of revolutionary thought. Born on September 23, 1778, of a Spanish

³ Moses, *The Intellectual Background*, pp. 22-24.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4.

father and a creole mother, he was the eldest child of a large family.⁵ Almost from childhood he is said to have displayed an active temperament, a vivid memory, a fine sensibility, an expression of firmness in ideas and pride in conduct, and an adaptability to the suggestions of others.⁶

Buenos Aires was, at that time, by no means an educational center. Outside of the convents, its educational system could boast of only two schools, the Escuela del Rey and El Colegio de San Carlos, both of which were wholly modest in the method as well as in the quantity of instruction.⁷ In the latter institution, Mariano Moreno gained his early education. He took all of the courses offered, became a master of Latin, read the books of his friends and the friends of his family, and at an early age, by "his assiduity in work and his love of study", won for himself the friendship of distinguished people.⁸ The youth's favorite instructors at San Carlos were

* Ricardo Levene, *Vida privada y pública de Mariano Moreno* (Buenos Aires, 1928), p. 6; Levene, *Ensayo histórico sobre la Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno* (Buenos Aires, 1920-1921, 2 vols.), I. 24 n. In Manuel Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Don Mariano Moreno, Secretario de la Junta de Buenos Ayres, Capital de las Provincias del Río de la Plata. Con una Idea de su Revolución, y de la de México, Caracas, etc.* (Buenos Aires, 1918), p. 28, the date given is September 3, 1779.

* Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 6; Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 28-29.

* Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, p. 30; Norberto Piñero, *Escritos de Mariano Moreno* (Buenos Aires, 1896), p. ix (page citations to this work in Roman numerals refer to the author's prologue, a sketch rich in explanatory information; the citations in Arabic numerals, then, refer to the body of the volume). In 1915, a new edition of Moreno's writings (*Escritos Políticos y Económicos*), with Piñero as editor, appeared in Buenos Aires, but its contents vary little from those of the earlier collection.

El Colegio de San Carlos had been founded in 1783 by Juan José de Vértiz y Salcedo, a Mexican who had filled many posts in the Platine provinces, including that of viceroy from 1778 to 1784. He was a disciple of men who had attended Charles III., notably Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes, Spanish economist. On *El Colegio de San Carlos*, see Pedro I. Caraffa, *El Colegio de San Carlos o la Casa en que se Educó la Generación de Mayo* (La Plata, 1915), pp. 5-9; Matilde T. Flairito, *Mariano Moreno, Estudio de su Personalidad y de su Obra* (Buenos Aires, 1916), pp. 29 ff. The latter study is prolix and by no means definitive.

* Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. ix-x.

Mariano Medrano and Fray Cayetano Rodríguez, both of whom predicted a future for him in an ecclesiastical career.⁹

While a student at El Colegio de San Carlos, Moreno came to the notice of Felipe Antonio de Iriarte, a priest of the archbishopric of La Plata, who visited Buenos Aires. This priest was chiefly responsible for making the arrangements which permitted Moreno to attend the University of San Francisco Xavier at Chuquisaca in Alto-Peru.¹⁰ Iriarte, it is to be noticed, was a revolutionary propagandist who served the revolution in many ways; and he may be said to have made possible Moreno's career, his education, and the contacts which allowed him to play his part in the revolution of 1810.¹¹ His education in Buenos Aires completed and plans perfected for the continuation of his studies in Chuquisaca, Moreno set out on the long overland journey to Alto-Peru, arriving there in February, 1800.¹²

With probably not over 14,000 inhabitants at that time, Chuquisaca has been described as the "most beautiful and best planted city" of the viceroyalty.¹³ It was the seat of the archbishopric, the audiencia, and a famous university. The city contained seven monasteries, three nunneries, and other religious institutions. Hence, the "most noble" people of Alto-Peru resided there: the officials of the university and the

⁹ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 31, 41; Flairotto, *Mariano Moreno*, pp. 34 f.; José Otero, *La Revolution Argentina, 1810-1816* (Paris, 1917), pp. 132-133. Rodríguez was a Franciscan, who became one of the ardent supporters of the revolution of 1810 and a member of the congress of Tucumán in 1816. He was also something of a poet and an orator, dedicating one of his poems to Moreno, who was his favorite pupil. (José Ignacio Yani, *La Independencia*, Buenos Aires, 1916, pp. 78-79.)

¹⁰ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 44-45.

¹¹ Luis Paz, *La Universidad Mayor Real y Pontificia de San Francisco Xavier de la Capital de los Charcas* (Sucre, 1914), pp. 266-267. (This work contributes valuable information, although its plagiarism needs to be guarded against.) For further material on Iriarte, see *ibid.*, pp. 267-272; Agustín Piaggio, *Influencia del Clero en la Independencia Argentina, 1810-1820* (Barcelona, 1912), pp. 354-368.

¹² Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, pp. 8-9.

¹³ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 25.

audiencia; the families of the wealthy mine owners of Potosí; and clerical officials of the archbishopric.¹⁴

In 1800, the city was considered an intellectual center of South America, for the University of San Francisco Xavier was reputed one of the best in the world. It drew students from such representative cities of the viceroyalty as Cuzco, Córdoba, and Buenos Aires, thus allowing its effects to be felt in all corners of the province.¹⁵ Founded in 1624 upon the structure of a small college already in existence, it had become famous as a school for legal studies and by 1800 counted an enrollment of some five hundred students.¹⁶ It had by this time reached the point of fame where its graduates were wont to look with contempt upon the alumni of such universities as those at Córdoba and Santiago. Here many of the leaders of Argentine independence were educated and it is even said that "free America owes a debt of gratitude to it".¹⁷

Attached to the university and subordinate to it, was the Caroline Academy, a body in which embryonic lawyers of advanced classes might practice debate and prepare themselves in a practical way for the tribunals of the royal audiencia. Copied after similar eighteenth century institutions of Spain, it began to function in Chuquisaca in 1776, and was approved by royal cédula on August 28, 1780. Semi-deliberative, it operated under the supervision of a minister of

¹⁴ Gonzalo Bulnes, *Nacimiento de las Repúblicas Americanas* (Buenos Aires, 1927, 2 vols.), I. 243-246. This work gives the population of the city in 1809 as 20,000, half of whom were said to be Indians, Negroes, and half-breeds. The city has, interestingly enough, been called the city of four names—Charcas, La Plata, Chuquisaca, Sucre—as in Alfredo Jáuregui Rosquellós, *La Ciudad de los cuatro Nombres, Cronicoario Histórico* (Sucre, 1924).

¹⁵ Alcides Arguedas, *Historia de Bolivia: La Fundación de la República* (Madrid, [n. d.]. Vol. LXI. in *Biblioteca Ayacucho* bajo de dirección de Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona), p. 23; Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 46-47.

¹⁶ William Spence Robertson, *History of the Latin-American Nations* (New York, 1922), p. 132; Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 9.

¹⁷ Bulnes, *Nacimiento de las Repúblicas Americanas*, I, 245.

the audiencia, but elected its own president, vice-president, secretary, and other officers. The requirements for admission were specific: an advanced ranking in the university must have been attained; certain formalities must be fulfilled; a steadiness of age must be manifested; and legitimacy and purity of blood must be proved.¹⁸

Students of the Caroline Academy carried on the discussion of current economic and political problems with great personal interest. Once their education brought them to a realization of the oppression and the venality of the Spanish colonial administration, it was an easy step to the study of questions of public law and democratic dogma. Expression of revolutionary discontent was the consequence. That they agreed upon any formal plan of action is doubtful, but that they meditated many projects is clear. Nor is there any doubt that their ideas helped to incite the revolt of 1809 in Chuquisaca and that of 1810 in Buenos Aires.¹⁹

All of Mariano Moreno's plans for education in Chuquisaca had been laid with the view to a preparation for the priesthood. Such had been the hopes of his family for him and, at least until some time after his arrival in Alto-Peru in 1800, such were his own ambitions. The facts that he had been directed to Chuquisaca by a priest and that he came under the influence of the clergy early during his residence there, it would seem, ought to have kept him close to his early vows, but, on the contrary, those very influences were the ones which led him away from a clerical career. At almost every turn of Moreno's life a representative of the clergy was the controlling factor.²⁰ In Chuquisaca, he came under the tutelage of the canon, Don Matías Terrazas, whose private

¹⁸ Paz, *La Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, pp. 233, 234; Levene, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1929), I. 328; Jáuregui Rosquellós, *La Ciudad de los cuatro Nombres*, pp. 50-52. (For further material on the manner of admission, the oath, the requirements, *et al.*, see Paz, pp. 236-237).

¹⁹ Gabriel René-Moreno, *Últimos Días coloniales en el Alto-Perú* (Santiago de Chile, 1896-1901, 2 vols.), I. 51-53, 67.

²⁰ See *ante*, p. 453.

library abounded in books listed in the *Expurgatio*.²¹ As he entered the Caroline Academy, his development was further molded by Doctor José Antonio Medina, ultra-radical propagandist, later a member of the revolutionary junta of La Paz, and composer of the war proclamation against Spain.²² Moreno's sponsors were, in every instance, revolutionaries, or at least ultra-liberals; they were every one priests; and yet Moreno became a lawyer, despite the hopes of his family and his own preconceived plans. It is apparent that the clergy was an important factor in the training of this revolutionary mind, but its greatest influence was in channels of public law and political liberty, not along lines of church dogma and canonical theories.²³

Of the clerics mentioned above, probably none exercised a greater influence on the formative years of Moreno's life than Canon Terrazas, whose protégé he became.²⁴ This priest was secretary to the archbishop and *visitador* of the archdiocese; his learning and erudition were respected and praised; and he was perhaps the most influential person in Alto-Peru. Terrazas had built up a library with painstaking efforts and at great cost, and although it was composed largely of works of religion, science, and literature, there were not a few of philosophy and politics, to some of which the inquisition rigorously objected.²⁵ In this library Moreno was allowed to roam at will and to read as he chose. His first interest, as might be expected, was centered on ecclesiastical subjects, but he soon turned to civil history, geography, and oratory, and eventually came to prefer philosophy and the political sciences.²⁶

²¹ René-Moreno, *Últimos Dias coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 61-62.

²² Paz, *La Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, pp. 265-266.

²³ A brief discussion on the general subject of clerical influence in Alto-Peru is to be found in Paz, *La Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, pp. 263-265.

²⁴ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 58-59.

²⁵ René-Moreno, *Últimos Dias coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 61. This authority notes that Canon Terrazas was exempt from suspicion and thus not subject to the inspection of the *Expurgatio*.

²⁶ René-Moreno, *Últimos Dias coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 62.

"Intellectually", one writer has said, "the university made the revolution in Alto-Peru."²⁷ This statement is very likely an exaggeration, but that enough facts exist for such an assertion to be hazarded is indicative of the conditions which held forth in the province in the first years of the century. Moreno arrived in Chuquisaca in the very instant of transition, at the very time when revolutionary ideas were being manufactured and spread throughout the region.²⁸ "Revolutionary thought" was probably present there before the turn of the century, but there is little doubt as to its existence just after 1800.²⁹ Hispanic American writers make frequent reference to "*la génesis del pensamiento revolucionario*" and refer to the university group at Chuquisaca as the yeast which impelled the dough to rise.³⁰ It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to show the exact connection of Moreno with this movement, but at least some of his activities during the period of its growth can be indicated.

Having completed his work in theology by 1802, Moreno, for reasons which have been mentioned, transferred to the school of law, from which his interests and abilities soon took him to the Caroline Academy.³¹ In connection with his activities there, he familiarized himself with the economic and political doctrines of Montesquieu, D'Agessseau, Locke, Filangieri, Jovellanos, Rousseau, Raynal, and the encyclopedists.³² He read widely, too, of

some Spanish and Indian humanist economists and jurists who had influenced the spirit of the revolutionary generation of America, not only . . . because they defined liberal formulas, [but also because

²⁷ Arguedas, *Historia de Bolivia*, p. 23. Dr. John Tate Lanning, Duke University, in his forthcoming work, *The Colonial Universities: Their Rôle in the Evolution of Hispanic-American Culture and Politics*, will deal with the subject of the development of revolutionary thought in the University of San Francisco Xavier.

²⁸ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 9.

²⁹ René-Moreno, *Últimos Días coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 60-61.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 51 ff.

³¹ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 10.

³² Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. x-xi.

they] affirmed the necessity of implanting in the colonies an administration well attended, a technical direction, and a government juridically equitable and not one merely of strength and privilege.³³

This Argentine youth, a person whose reactions were contagious, soon made his ideas of independence and reform the seeds from which sprang thriving organisms in the halls of the Caroline Academy.³⁴ Among his companions in these years of transition were men who were to be fellow leaders of the revolution of 1810 and others who were to become members of the congress of Tucumán in 1816. He took his law degree in the same class with Doctor José Teodoro Sánchez de Bustamante, who later became *relator* of the audiencia of Chuquisaca, *fiscal* of the audiencia of Buenos Aires, and a member of the congress of Tucumán. He was a close companion of Mariano Boedo, who was to sit in the Tucumán meetings and whose ideas agreed with those of Moreno on fundamental topics, such as federalism. He graduated with Doctor Antonio Sáenz, later an incumbent of many positions in the audiencia, participant in the 1810 revolution, and delegate to Tucumán. He was closely attached to Bernardo Monteagudo, for whom he developed a strong sympathy.³⁵

This enumeration of Moreno's activities and contacts in Chuquisaca leaves little doubt as to his intimate connection with the development of "*el pensamiento revolucionario*" in Alto-Peru. A more detailed survey of his reading and study there will add to the conclusiveness of this deduction. Moreno has been described as "a soul without moral repose", "a fanatical and ascetic soul devoured by a surprising activity", and it was doubtless these qualities that led him to give him-

³³ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 11.

³⁴ René-Moreno, *Últimos Días coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 63, 66.

³⁵ Congreso de Tucumán. *Biografías de los Diputados* (Buenos Aires, 1916), pp. 20, 43-44, 76; Yani, *La Independencia*, pp. 33, 52, 58; Paz, *La Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, p. 394; Juan R. Muñoz, *Vida y Escritos de D. Bernardo Monteagudo, o sea Rasgo biográfico de uno de los mas altos Personajes del Drama revolucionario de Sud-América* (Valparaiso, 1859), p. 73; Piaggio, *Influencia del Clero en la Independencia Argentina, 1810-1820*, pp. 277-280.

self to the eighteenth century French philosophers, especially to "the social mysticism of Jean Jacques Rousseau".³⁶ But, of equal and perhaps greater importance for present purposes was another side of the man's development, namely his education in economics and his acquisition of a juridical knowledge.³⁷ In this connection, it is probable that he read and studied Raynal, Filangieri, Adam Smith, Quesnay, Thomas Paine, Colbert, Snutter, and Condillac.³⁸ Of the economic works, apparently none was more influential upon Moreno's development than the classic of the Abbé Raynal, which first appeared in Amsterdam in 1770, *L'histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*.³⁹ This philosophical history, it would seem, opened up to him the wide horizon of liberty; he learned with amazement of the prodigious development of the English colonies since emancipation; he acquired an admiration for a system of government which was built on the firm basis of popular sovereignty.⁴⁰

In addition to his study of the classics of the economists, Moreno developed his revolutionary bent by participating in a great political controversy which had been raging in Alto-Peru for nearly a decade. The principals in this controversy were Victoriano de Villaba, *fiscal* of the audiencia of Charcas since 1789, and an alleged "precursor and prophet of the revolution", and Francisco Paula Sanz, an *intendant* of Potosí who had been superintendent of the *Real Hacienda* of

³⁶ Vicente F. López, *Historia de la República Argentina, su Origen su Revolución, y su Desarrollo Político hasta 1852* (Buenos Aires, 1911, 10 vols.), III, 197. López thinks Moreno's natural nervousness, his enthusiastic imagination, and his terrible insomnia were influential factors in his philosophical development. (See pp. 196-197.)

³⁷ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 34. Some of Moreno's ideas perhaps were derived from the *Política Indiana* of Juan de Solórzano Pereyra. (See pp. 35-39.)

³⁸ José Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas* (Buenos Aires, 1918-1920, 2 vols.), I. 174.

³⁹ The first English edition appeared soon after and many have followed.

⁴⁰ René-Moreno, *Últimos Días Coloniales en el Alto-Perú*, I. 62.

Buenos Aires.⁴¹ In his *Discurso sobre la Mita de Potosí*, published in 1793, Villaba had defended the humble Indians of the mines and had expressed the ideas of the colonists for the solution of their social and political problems.⁴² In November, 1794, Paula Sanz attacked the *Discurso* in his *La Contestación* and attempted to support the policy of the *mita*.⁴³

At some time during his years in Chuquisaca, Moreno heard Villaba in a public address and fell deeply under the spell of his teaching.⁴⁴ It was while under the sway of this man's ideas that Moreno wrote, in 1802, his *Disertación jurídica sobre el servicio personal de los indios en general y sobre el particular de Yanaconas y Mitarios*.⁴⁵ It was with Villaba's ideas still in mind that he constructed his *Representación de los hacendados* in 1809.⁴⁶ The effects of this dispute regarding the Indians on the later career of Moreno have been well described in the following language:

In this propitious manner, Moreno began to know the men of the counterrevolution and to prepare the arms with which he was going to combat them: the sword, which he let fall at its hour, without contemplation, with all the proofs in his hands; and the pen, more penetrating and efficacious than steel, in order to destroy a system.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 11; Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 48, 49.

⁴² Victoriano de Villaba, "Discurso sobre la mita de Potosí," in *La Revista de Buenos Aires*, VIII. 5-21 (January, 1871). In this work, Villaba developed four points on the economic, legal, and social problems of the conditions of the Indians: (1) the work of the Potosí mines was not public work; (2) even if it were, there existed no right to force the Indians to labor; (3) the Indians were not so indolent as supposed; (4) even if they were indolent in the highest degree, they ought not to be obliged to work by the use of violence. (For a summary of the *Discurso* see Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 53. Other writings of Villaba are in *ibid.*, I. 389-433).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 54.

⁴⁴ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, pp. 12, 13.

⁴⁵ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 75. An explanation of Moreno's *Disertación* is contained in pp. 79-86 and the complete text of it is on pp. 434-458.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁴⁷ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 13.

Moreno received his degree in law from the University of San Francisco Xavier in 1804, but continued his sojourn in Chuquisaca yet another year before returning to his native Buenos Aires.⁴⁸ Although he returned with two doctor's diplomas, one in theology and one in law, he was still without ordination as a priest. He did, however, bring back with him a fund of knowledge and experience.⁴⁹ His years of education in Chuquisaca had prepared Moreno well, as preparation went in those days, for participation in the political and intellectual life of Buenos Aires. Possessed of university degrees, experienced in the art of public speaking, sophisticated through contacts with men of varying types, imbued with new ideas, he might naturally and logically have sought out those who could give him the kind of life to which he had become accustomed. Instead of this, however, he applied himself almost exclusively to his law practice, maintaining, at least outwardly, the position of a disinterested observer of the progress of revolutionary events.⁵⁰

Almost at once after his return to Buenos Aires, Moreno had passed the examinations admitting him to legal practice, and during the years from 1805 to 1809 he appeared before the court in many cases, but his arguments furnish little evidence to show that he was continuing his revolutionary thinking.⁵¹ His legal knowledge and his practice of law led him more or less naturally to the work of the *audiencia*, for which he served as *relator*.⁵²

This period of Moreno's life has been rather aptly termed an *interregno*⁵³ and, because the facts about it are few and intangible, one is led to wonder if it were not significant in his mission as precursor. His passiveness has been accounted

⁴⁸ Paz, *La Universidad de San Francisco Xavier*, p. 394; Flairotto, *Mariano Moreno*, pp. 63 ff.

⁴⁹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁵⁰ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 89-90.

⁵¹ Levene, *ibid.*, pp. 92-103; Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xiv.

⁵² Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, p. 81.

⁵³ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 13.

for by the facts that "he was reticent, without a communicative sense", and that "he did not have friends in whom to confide or who confided an affection in him".⁵⁴ These traits are difficult to reconcile with the nature of his career in Chuquisaca, and yet it is possible that, once out of the intellectual environment of the capital city of Alto-Peru, once away from the tutelage of his clerical friends there and back in Buenos Aires where his integrity and talent were less well known, he feared to voice publicly his revolutionary doctrines or, at least, hesitated to take the initiative. Again, he may simply have supposed that conditions were not yet mature enough and that certain clandestine preparations needed first to be made.

Moreno was serving in his post as *relator* of the audiencia at the time of the occupancy of Buenos Aires by General William Carr Berresford during the first English invasion of the Río de la Plata in June, 1806. With the flight of Cisneros, the viceroy, and his government to Córdoba, the *relator* was unable to carry out his duties of "abridging and interpreting the multitudinous papers submitted to" the audiencia.⁵⁵ With the freedom thus given him, Moreno was able to write his *Memorias sobre la invasion de Buenos-Aires por las armas inglesas*, . . . said to be the only work he ever wrote without a definite end, but which revealed his genuine American feeling and his love of the land of his birth.⁵⁶ His patriotism was exemplified when Buenos Aires was threatened a second time. He and his brother, Manuel, worked out measures which might be used for the repulsion of the enemy.⁵⁷ The public interest was too great a cause for him to neglect.

The historical facts of these English invasions are not pertinent here, but the revolution which those foreign raids

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁵ F. A. Kirkpatrick, *A History of the Argentine Republic* (Cambridge, 1931), p. 44; Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xiv.

⁵⁶ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. xiv-xvi, xxiii, 25-48.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. xvii-xviii. Here it is noted that Mariano "was the counsellor of the Cabildo, the inspirer of many measures adopted to repeal the enemy, and the author of the proclamations and other documents which that body published."

worked on the minds of the people needs to be mentioned. Although deserted by their ruler, the colonists had driven out a foreign enemy. Having long exhibited an apathy and an indifference to their fate, they now suddenly became conscious of their own strength. A political transformation had occurred. Portions of the people were made to see the possibilities of independence, and, as soon as the passion for freedom should be transmitted to the masses, the revolution might begin.⁵⁸

More tangible results of the English invasions, however, and effects more likely to be fruitful of great consequences, were the awakening of an American class and the impulsion of that class to action. From the time of these invasions in 1806-1807 there may be seen the rise of definite classes which persisted to the very instant of revolution in 1810 and continued thereafter.⁵⁹ These groups were those mentioned at the outset of this discussion: (1) the creoles, who centered themselves about the popular leader, Santiago Liniers; and (2) the Spanish peninsulars, who supported the cabildo and who, in 1808, combined themselves with a similar group in Montevideo.⁶⁰

It seems almost directly contradictory with the general trend of this study to note here that, in this division of the people into creoles and Spanish, Moreno stood with the Spanish, or, at least, opposed to the ideas of the creoles. Is it, therefore, to be supposed that he was averse to the "tendencies and aspirations" of that party? Two explanations may be given for his attitude. In the first place, he was clearly opposed to the plan of some of the most prominent of the patriots to set up an independent constitutional monarchy under Carlota, wife of the prince regent of Portugal, who was then ruler of Brazil. Secondly, Moreno was unalterably op-

⁵⁸ Moreno, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, pp. 95-96, 141-142, 142-143; Moses, *South America on the Eve of Emancipation. The Southern Spanish Colonies in the last Half-Century of their Dependence* (New York and London, 1908), p. 299.

⁵⁹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xix.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xix-xxi.

posed to the ideas and government of Liniers, the creole leader, whom he knew to be an admirer of Napoleon.⁶¹ Although Moreno was essentially in sympathy with the creole group, his sincere opposition to Liniers and his own independence of judgment refused to permit him to participate in the early revolutionary moves of the years 1807-1809.

Although he had some connection with the popular flare-up in Buenos Aires on January 1, 1809, it was not until after September of that year that he was generally regarded as being part of the revolutionary movement.⁶² It was at the latter time that he published his *Representación á nombre del apoderado de los hacendados de las compañías del Río de la Plata dirigida al excmo. Señor Virrey Don Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros en el expediente promovido sobre proporcionar ingresos al erario por medio de un franco comercio con la nación inglesa*.⁶³

The operation of the mercantile system of monopoly over a long period of years had gradually worked the economic ruin of the provinces of the Río de la Plata; it had by 1809 assured

the predominance of backwardness, of a primitive state and of ignorance; it impeded cultivation and production, and made impossible international commerce.⁶⁴

Following the expulsion of the English, the cost of common articles had risen to an extremely high point, the poor lacked the necessities, farmers and cattle raisers worked in vain be-

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. xxii-xxviii. For a brief description of the internal situation in Spain at the time of the Napoleonic invasion of the peninsula, see William Spence Robertson, "The Juntas of 1808 and the Spanish Colonies", in *English Historical Review*, XXXI. 573-585 (October, 1916).

⁶² Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 174-175; II. 29.

⁶³ Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, pp. 16-17. For a complete copy, see Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. 89-224. A reprint was published in 1874 under the slightly different title, *Representación que el Apoderado de los Hacendados de las Compañías del Río de la Plata dirigió al Excmo. Sr. Virey D. Baltasar Hidalgo de Cisneros en el Expediente promovido sobre proporcionar Ingresos al Erario por medio de un franco Comercio con la Nación Inglesa* (Buenos Aires, 1874).

⁶⁴ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xxx.

cause of the lack of markets, the public treasury was empty, and all classes but the smugglers and those whom the monopoly favored suffered. It was as the defender of the people on both sides of the Río de la Plata against such conditions that Mariano Moreno was drawn into the public spotlight in September, 1809, and after. The *Representación* not only had its intrinsic value, but, for the first time, it linked the name of Moreno with great national events.⁶⁵

Moreno advocated the entry of English goods with the levy of an import duty, in order that the treasury might be replenished and declining trade assisted; he deprecated the clandestine entry of such commodities, for no revenue was gained thereby. He preached the free export of Argentine commodities. He was averse to the commercial monopoly of the Cádiz merchants. He opposed voluntary loans, the creation of new taxes, the diminution of salaries, and the establishment of lotteries.⁶⁶ He was revolutionary, and yet showed a profound moderation and conservatism, when he

. . . contested with virility, in terms at times aggressive, violent, and sustained by the authority of Filangieri, that the rich and powerful colonies did not desire to emancipate themselves, and, "happy under the mother country, did not dare to shake off a mild and gentle yoke, in order to seek an independence which deprived them of the protection of their mother, without there remaining assurances of power to defend themselves, either from the ambition of a conqueror, of the intrigues of a powerful citizen, or the dangers of anarchy. . . ."⁶⁷

His logic was not so much a product of his legal training as that of a politician pleading for a great national cause. The fruit of his hours of reading in the library of Canon Terrazas in Chuquisaca was being reaped; his argument showed the knowledge he had gained from the eighteenth century economists, especially from Raynal and Filangieri, from Villaba,

⁶⁵ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xxix.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxix-xxxv; 104 ff.; Otero, *La Revolution Argentine*, pp. 101-103.

⁶⁷ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

and from his discussions in the forum of the Caroline Academy.⁶⁸

The importance of the *Representación de los Hacendados* has very likely been exaggerated, but it seems to be not too high a compliment to say that it

. . . had at the right time a high political significance. There is [was] a revolutionary germ in its cry for the intervention of the people in the government and in economic questions, according to the principles of English public law.⁶⁹

It gained wide popularity in the Río de la Plata and was subsequently published in Brazil and England.⁷⁰ Besides that, its appearance indicated a significant transitory change in the career of Moreno. For four years his mind had apparently been inactive in the realm of revolutionary thought. It is rather to be assumed, however, that he was simply biding his time until the propitious moment of the future. That moment was to arrive early in 1810.

At that time and for some months previous, the Argentine mind was being influenced by many factors, some of which may be termed causes of the May revolution. The leading creoles had imbibed doctrines and ideas of reform from events in Europe, some, like Belgrano, from actual residence there. The distance and ill-will between the peninsulars and the creoles was gradually widening. The Americans were coming to realize their own lack of education and of opportunities. They were becoming more fully conscious of the consequences of the monopolistic system. Without going into greater detail thereto, it may be said the sum total of these

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxiii-xxxiv.

⁶⁹ Levene, *Los Orígenes de la Democracia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1911), p. 167.

⁷⁰ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, I. 282, 293. It was translated into Portuguese and published in Brazil by José Da Silva Lisboa, eminent Brazilian jurist and economist. It was published in London in 1811 in the periodical, *El Español*, by J. Blanco White.

factors, together with the general European situation, made revolution in southern South America virtually inevitable.⁷¹

The revolutionary spirit which had been smoldering in Buenos Aires for some time burst into flame in the latter part of May, 1810, and there was set up the "provisional junta of the provinces of Río de la Plata, in the name of King Ferdinand the Seventh". An analysis of the declaration of the junta shows that Mariano Moreno and Juan José Paso were delegated secretaries, the former in charge of the department of war, and that Belgrano, Rodríguez Peña, Pueyrredón, and Saavedra were the other leaders of the government.⁷² This *junta gubernativa*, which dates from May 25, was, in essence, the beginning of Argentina's independence, although a decade of "political instability" was to follow.⁷³

No one realized more fully than Moreno the critical character of the period and the movement in which he had become involved. He knew that more than a mere displacement of old officials must take place; he knew that abuses must be replaced with efficiency; that public spirit must be built up, that the people must be educated, and that enemies must be destroyed.⁷⁴ The contributions of Moreno to the *junta gubernativa* and its success have been widely and lavishly praised by Argentine historians. One says that the junta was dominated by his "excessive and intransigent genius"; another writes that he was the predominant figure of the new government and that he revealed, in this instance, the qualities of a

⁷¹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. xli-xlii; Levene, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*, I. 319-354, 447-456. Levene classifies his rather exhaustive list of causes of the May revolution into two groups, internal and external. The former, he divides into economic, political, and intellectual antecedents; the latter, he says, emanate from the American and French Revolutions.

⁷² *Annual Register, or A View of the History, Politics, and Literature, for the Year 1810*, (London, 1812), p. 522; Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, p. 5. For a brief mention of the relation of Moreno and Paso, see Yani, *La Independencia*, p. 85, and *Congreso de Tucumán*, pp. 147, 148.

⁷³ Frederic L. Paxson, *The Independence of the South American Republics. A Study in Recognition and Foreign Policy* (Philadelphia, 1916), pp. 54-55.

⁷⁴ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 181-182.

superior politician; a third avers that, but for the "heat lightning of his genius, that junta would have been shipwrecked on a sea of documents".⁷⁵ Moreno was very likely an indispensable wheel in the machine which rolled toward independence, but it must be remembered that he was only one of a group of notables and that

The revolution of May . . . was the expression of the superior thinking of Moreno, Belgrano, Castelli, Rivadavia, Paso, Monteagudo, and all those thinkers who, in long hours of meditation and of study, conceived and molded the foundation of citizenship [*nacionalidades*].⁷⁶

The rôle which Moreno had now begun to play was that for which his life in Chuquisaca and in Buenos Aires had rather adequately prepared him—a precursor of independence.⁷⁷

It has been previously mentioned how specific was Moreno's conception of what the revolution ought to accomplish for the people of the provinces of the Río de la Plata. The crux of his ideas was that there must be a series of substantial reforms in government and society and that these reforms must destroy the abuses of past government.⁷⁸ He saw that the change in government must not be simply a transition from a former indolent one, but that every bond with the past must be broken and a new nation created. Upon the constitutional question of whether or not a revolutionary congress had the capacity to organize a state, he vigorously applied Rousseau's doctrine of the social contract. It is difficult to determine whether he favored a federal or unitary system

⁷⁵ López, *Historia de la República Argentina*, III. 179; Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. xlix-1; Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas*, I. 171. The last rather interestingly adds that Moreno "was a mystic, in short, who in the hour of receiving the doctor's degree changed theology for democracy, Thomas Aquinas for Rousseau, and the pulpit for the press" (p. 172).

⁷⁶ Miguel F. Rodríguez, *Monteagudo, Escritos políticos* (Biblioteca "French," 1915, 2 vols.) I. xxvii-xxviii.

⁷⁷ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, p. xl.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

of government, but that he opposed all tendencies toward monarchy is indisputable.⁷⁹

On July 15, Manuel Belgrano gave to the *Gobierno* a series of topics upon which a statement of policies for the new government should be made. The task of drawing up the statement was apparently given to Moreno, for, in August, he reported his *Plan de las Operaciones que el gobierno provisional de las provincias unidas del Río de la Plata debe poner en práctica para consolidar la grande obra de nuestra libertad é independencia*.⁸⁰ In this extensive document, he attempted to lay down the internal and foreign policies which the *Gobierno* should follow, at least until independence had been obtained and established. He discussed means of securing for the government the respect and loyalty of the inhabitants. He suggested the incitement of a rebellion in the Banda Oriental and the subjugation of a part of that territory. He laid down the basis for future relations with Spain. He recommended certain specific policies for the government in its relations with Great Britain and Portugal, including a treaty of alliance, protection, and aid with the former. He favored the conquest of a part of Brazil, beginning in the Río Grande del Sud. In matters of agriculture and industry, he advocated a governmental monopoly of mines and minerals for ten years, the prohibition of private operation of gold and silver mines, the prohibition of the export of private fortunes, especially of Europeans, and the adoption of a new coinage system.⁸¹

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. xcix-xci, civ, cxi; Adolfo Saldías, *La Evolución republicana durante la Revolución Argentina* (Madrid, 1919. Vol. XLV. in *Biblioteca Ayacucho*), p. 54.

⁸⁰ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. 447-565. For a detailed discussion of the plan, see Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Moreno*, II. 203-224. On the matter of the authenticity of its authorship, see *ibid.*, 203 n; Robertson, *Rise of the Spanish-American Republics, as told in the lives of their Liberators* (New York, 1930), pp. 156, 159; and Daniel Antokoletz, *La Diplomatie pendant la Révolution* (Paris and Buenos Aires, 1914. Vol. I. in *Histoire de la Diplomatie Argentine*), pp. 93-94.

⁸¹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. 469-565 *passim*.

Moreno's ideas were extremely draconian. He advised the use of plots, intrigue, espionage, bribery, and seduction for purposes of aiding the success of the revolution. Against opponents of the movement, he recommended punishment in varying degrees: capital punishment for the leaders; and banishment and confiscation of property for lesser offenders. His plan appealed to the lessons of Washington's politics and urged that the present moment was the most auspicious for the crushing of the Bourbons and the establishment of a republic.⁸² His study of the French philosophers made itself evident once more in this concluding statement:

Finally, let us give a most solemn character to our new structure, let us look only at our native land, and when the constitution of the state guarantees to all the legitimate enjoyment of the rights of true liberty in practice and quiet possession, without allowing abuse, then an American state will have solved the true and great problem of the social contract.⁸³

In order that there may be no doubt as to the sincerity of Moreno's desire to set up an independent state, a new nation, in the region of the Río de la Plata, it is worth while to mention some of his manifold activities as one of the heads of the government. Although the duties of his office in the war department—the editing of official documents, the dispatch of measures, the provisions for the needs of each section of the viceroyalty—absorbed an interminable amount of his time, still he found opportunity to interest himself in matters of public instruction, hygiene, commerce, organic politics, and civic improvements. He analyzed political questions, he worked on relations between church and state, he conducted a census in Buenos Aires, and he studied topics of economic consideration.⁸⁴

One of the greatest of Moreno's contributions to the cause

⁸² Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. liii-lv, 456-457, 461-462.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

⁸⁴ López, *Historia de la Argentina*, III. 189; Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. lxx-lxvii.

of independence, perhaps, was his founding of the *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, the first issue of which appeared on June 7, 1810. It was designed by its founder to publish articles on such subjects as the foreign relations of the junta, the conduct of finances, and the condition of the public treasury, and to print the views of private persons.⁸⁵ That the periodical achieved the purposes of Moreno seems certain, for it published data on the risings of the people in Buenos Aires, in the other Argentine provinces, and in various South American countries, it printed proclamations and orders of the junta, and it reprinted articles from foreign newspapers on the revolution.⁸⁶ Moreno wrote much for the *Gaceta*, as did his friend of days in Chuquisaca, Bernardo Monteagudo, a youth of twenty-five or twenty-six years and somewhat famous because of a conspicuous part in the revolution of 1809 in Chuquisaca.⁸⁷

Moreno also assisted in the work of founding a public library,⁸⁸ and formed a club, such as Burke had organized in England, where the friends of liberty might hold regular nightly meetings.⁸⁹ He was a persistent champion of free speech and urged the people to a liberal expression of their honest opinion.⁹⁰ Many and varied were Moreno's activities

⁸⁵ These purposes were stated in the first issue. See *Gaceta de Buenos Aires (1810-1821)*. Reimpresión facsimilar dirigida por la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana (Buenos Aires, 1910, 6 vols.). This will hereafter be referred to as *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*. A digest of the periodical has been prepared by Antonio Zinny, *Gaceta de Buenos Aires desde 1810 hasta 1821. Resumen de los bandos, proclamas, manifestaciones, partes, órdenes, decretos, circulares, observaciones, declaraciones . . .* (Buenos Aires, 1875).

⁸⁶ A survey of *Gaceta de Buenos Aires* will reveal many such items.

⁸⁷ Moses, *The Intellectual Background*, p. 89. As a writer, Moreno is described as "fluent, rambling at times, abundant in digressions and reflexions on themes which were connected with his subject, and his writings frequently lacked a little of the method and standard, but not of thought, of vigor, of brilliance and even of eloquence." Piñero explains away these deficiencies in Moreno's writings by the magnitude and variety of matters with which he concerned himself. (*Escritos de Moreno*, pp. lxxxiv-lxxxv.)

⁸⁸ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, September 13, 1810.

⁸⁹ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, p. 231.

⁹⁰ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, June 21, 1810.

through this period, and yet he remained, it seems, as full of religious sentiment as he had been in the days of his youth.⁹¹

As is so often the case with revolutionary governments, the provisional junta of the provinces of the Río de la Plata became torn with factious quarrels soon after its establishment in May. The most significant phase of these quarrels was that which centered itself about the personal and public differences of Cornelio Saavedra, president of the junta, and Mariano Moreno, its secretary. The antagonism of these two added greatly to the already weighty difficulties of the young government; it was evident almost from the beginning and its intensity constantly increased.⁹²

The members of the group which followed Moreno have been termed *revolucionarios*; they were liberal, clearly democratic, and in favor of immediate emancipation. They, of course, agreed with Moreno, whose natural enthusiasm desired to let the state gravitate naturally, rapidly, and energetically. The followers of Saavedra have been described as *separatistas*; they were conservative, and, like their leader, desired the same goal as their opponents, but preferred to attain it gradually through the evolution of the existing order. Moreno was the dynamo, Saavedra, the balance wheel of the provisional government; the factions they led have been called the *Morenistas* and the *Saavedristas*.⁹³

⁹¹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. lxxxvi-lxxxvii. When he translated Rousseau's *Social Contract*, he left out the chapters and passages on religion, because he felt that the author had ranted too much in his treatment. See the prologue to his translation in Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. 375-382.

⁹² Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. cxxiii-cxxv. An interesting contrast between the two men is drawn in Flairto, *Mariano Moreno*, pp. 509-510.

⁹³ Ingenieros, *La Evolución de las Ideas Argentinas*, pp. 179-194; Levene, *Lecciones de Historia Argentina*, II. 49-50. Joel R. Poinsett, first United States agent in the Río de la Plata, in a report to the Department of State about 1813, noted that Moreno "was the principle Engine of the revolution, and the founder of everything usefull since. He fell a sacrifice to the violence of his own passions, and to the animosity of Saavedra." (MSS. Department of State, Special Agents Series, III. J. R. Poinsett, p. 14.)

Numbered among the supporters of Moreno's views were two or three of the outstanding Argentines of the period. There was the brilliant Monteagudo, previously mentioned, who, in his *Ensayo sobre la necesidad de una federación general de los estados hispano-americanos*, developed the ideas of defense against European aggression which were held by Bolívar in the north of South America and by Moreno in the south.⁹⁴ There was Belgrano,

indefatigable worker for liberty and progress, . . . Belgrano was the anvil of the junta, Moreno the hammer. Between the two they forged the sword of the revolution.

There were Paso, the other secretary of the junta, Castelli, and others.⁹⁵

The feud between Moreno and Saavedra in the junta manifested itself on many occasions, three of which will serve as illustrations. (1) The secretary favored a harsh policy of punishment of the viceroy, the *oidores*, and the other leaders of the former government, in accordance with the plan which he had promulgated in August; whereas the president favored a policy of moderation.⁹⁶ (2) The first real clash between the two groups came on December 6. Moreno, true to his democratic ideas, felt that the new government should have no ritual, no relics of the "honors" of the old viceroyalty. Such things, he felt, were inconsistent with the new régime.⁹⁷ He was, therefore, able to induce the junta to pass a decree for the abolition of the honors, and, it is probable, wrote the decree, in which he took occasion to voice his ideas of democratic government.⁹⁸ Saavedra, being president, naturally was

⁹⁴ Rodríguez, *Monteagudo, Escritos políticos*, I. xxiii.

⁹⁵ Bartolomé Mitre, *Historia de Belgrano y la Independencia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, 1927-1928, 4 vols.), I. 330, 331.

⁹⁶ John Miller, *Memorias del General Miller, al Servicio de La República del Perú* (London, 1829, 2 vols.), I. 57-58; Cornelio de Saavedra to Sr. Dn. Feliciano Ant. Chiclana, January 15, 1811, Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, II. 500-503.

⁹⁷ Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 246-249.

⁹⁸ *Gaceta de Buenos Aires*, December 8, 1810.

piqued at this decision. This incident was, in a sense, the beginning of Moreno's fall, for he now found arrayed against him three classes of the people, each of which was rather powerful in the manufacture of public opinion: (a) the nucleus of creoles who desired the revolution to continue, but covertly; (b) the Spaniards who filled the administrative offices; and (c) the vast number of peninsulars who were engaged in commercial pursuits.⁹⁹ (3) The factional conflict really came to a climax in a meeting of the junta on December 18 and in the circumstances attending that meeting. On that occasion, the deputies to Buenos Aires from the provinces, led by Deán Funes, Rector of the University of Córdoba, demanded immediate incorporation in the junta, as they had been promised, probably by the president himself. Saavedra was favorable, Moreno opposed, and in the debate which followed the resignation of the latter was forced. Moreno feared that such an arrangement would lead to the establishment of a weak-willed government, incapable of decisive action, and such was entirely inconsistent with his scheme of things.¹⁰⁰

It may be concluded, then, that the apparent causes of Moreno's fall were the issues which arose over the decree on the suppression of honors to the president and the incorporation of provincial deputies in the junta. Behind these obvious events, however, there were more fundamental causes. In the first place, there was a deep-seated antagonism between Buenos Aires and the provinces and a desire for power on the part of the men of the interior—an antagonism and a desire which were to continue long after the revolutionary movement was over. Secondly, the struggle between Saavedra and Moreno was but the outcropping of an old feud, one which had had its origin in the conflict between the cabildo and the

⁹⁹ Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, II. 358.

¹⁰⁰ The details of this conflict are to be found in Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 250-256, and Levene, *La Revolución de Mayo y Mariano Moreno*, II. 362-372. On the political action of Deán Funes in this episode, see Mariano de Vedia y Mitre, *El Deán Funes en la Historia Argentina* (2d ed., Buenos Aires, 1910), pp. 31-45.

viceroy in 1808 and which was embittered by the peculiar conditions of Moreno's mind, his hallucinations and his sensitiveness, which tended to make wide otherwise narrow breeches. Lastly, the vast majority of the people of Buenos Aires and the provinces were still politically incapable and unappreciative of Moreno's ideas of government; Saavedra's opposition to him on political grounds was perhaps a true index of the attitude of the people on those points.¹⁰¹

The incidents of December just described virtually brought to an end Moreno's mission as a precursor of Argentine independence. His career, as his life, soon closed. In January, 1811, he was sent on a diplomatic errand to Brazil and England. Whether as a result of diplomatic exile, a murder plot, or a sincere desire to utilize his mental skill is not material here. He was to go to Brazil, it appears, to show Princess Carlota that in Buenos Aires her eventual rights to the throne were considered with much respect; in England, he was to work for recognition and a treaty of commerce.¹⁰² He was accompanied by his brother, Manuel, and Tomás Guido. The latter two eventually arrived in England, but Mariano died in mid-ocean.¹⁰³

At the time of Moreno's death, revolution had been rife in Argentina for nearly a year, but independence was not yet won. Not until the leader could agree upon a form of government, not until factional strife could be subordinated to the national good, not until popular leaders could crystallize and utilize the dormant strength of the masses, would the provinces of the Río de la Plata be ready for independence. This,

¹⁰¹ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. cxxxiv-cxxvi.

¹⁰² Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 258-260; Antokoletz, *La Diplomatie pendant la Révolution*, pp. 154-162.

¹⁰³ On the subject of his death, see Moreno, *Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, pp. 261-264; Levene, *Vida de Mariano Moreno*, pp. 7, 30-32. The following comment on the death of Moreno is interesting: "When Moreno's death and his burial in the sea were communicated to Saavedra, he coldly said, 'So much water was necessary to quench so much fire.'" (J. P. and W. P. Robertson, *Letters on South America; comprising travels on the banks of the Paraná and Río de la Plata*. London, 1843, 3 vols., II. 120).

briefly, was the situation when José de San Martín reappeared on Argentine soil.¹⁰⁴

Moreno's participation in these last steps toward independence was not to be a personal one, but his political work, . . . his creations, the efforts of his propaganda, his reforms, his ideas, his ideals, the impetus he gave to culture, have penetrated deeply, and they persisted and do persist embodied in the nation.¹⁰⁵

His spirit was said to have presided over the acts of the congress of Tucumán.¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁴ Mitre, *The Emancipation of South America*, p. 38.

¹⁰⁵ Piñero, *Escritos de Moreno*, pp. cxxxix-cxl. Manuel Moreno writes in the same vein, but more lavishly. (*Vida y Memorias del Doctor Moreno*, p. 265.)

¹⁰⁶ Nicolas Avellaneda, *Tres Artículos sobre El Congreso de Tucumán* [n. p., n. d.], p. 9.

BOOK REVIEWS

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Vols. III and IV, Central America. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1933; 1934. Pp. xv, 561; xlv, 993.)

These volumes embrace the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and Central America from 1831 to 1860. At the beginning of the period there existed a federal republic of Central America composed of Guatemala, Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica; but already the union was in process of dissolution. One by one the constituent parts withdrew and set themselves up as independent states. By 1839, no vestige of a central government survived, though efforts were made for a decade or more longer to restore it in some form or other. The United States being in sympathy with those efforts refrained from initiating relations with the seceding members of the federation. It continued, however, to deal with Guatemala, which it regarded as the parent state, and through that means was able to maintain some degree of contact with the region as a whole. At last, however, it yielded to the inevitable and recognized the independence of the different states: Nicaragua and Salvador in 1849, Costa Rica in 1851, and Honduras in 1853. Even then the correspondence did not always flow in distinct channels; for a single agent was often accredited to two or more of the republics. In the circumstances it would have been extremely difficult, if not impossible, to segregate the documents and arrange them under five different labels. The editor chose, therefore, to present the material under the single head of Central America, despite the fact that the term during the greater part of the period had no political significance.

If further support for the decision to publish these documents under a single head were required, it would be found in the essential unity of the material itself—a unity predetermined by the geographic conditions of the isthmus. Its location midway between the land masses of North and South America and its possession of natural

routes of communication from sea to sea, marked it ages ago as a point upon which the eyes of maritime nations would some day be turned. In the colonial era, Spain was under the constant necessity of defending it by force of arms; and afterward, the United States and England engaged in a mighty contest for the control of its transisthmian highways. Out of this later contest arose the greater part of the correspondence contained in the volumes under review. It is not surprising therefore that the bulk of the material lies in the period after 1848, when the angry discussion reached its climax. Nor is it surprising, in view of the stakes involved, that this intrinsically insignificant region should demand twice as much space in the series as the more important republic of Argentina, and nearly four times as much as the empire of Brazil. And yet these bulky volumes tell but a part of the story. The relevant correspondence between the United States and Great Britain and between Great Britain and Central America, if published, would not only greatly swell the amount, but would afford a fairer measure of the importance of the Central American question in the middle decades of last century.

The intensification of the contest in the later years is illustrated by the distribution of the material. Scarcely a third of it lies in the first two decades, while the rest falls in the third decade. The United States was peculiarly indifferent to Central American affairs until after the Mexican War. Its interest was then stimulated by the increased importance of the transisthmian routes of communication and by the sudden realization that England, by encroaching on the rights of the Central American republics, had gained control of the only one of these routes thought to be feasible for a ship canal. Matters would have come to a definite issue at once, if a temporary reaction against the manifest destiny idea had not caused a change of administration at Washington. The result was the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, intended to adjust all differences between the two countries in the isthmian region; but that instrument, far from settling anything, raised new questions and embittered old issues. Consequently, the discussion went on until 1860, when at last President Buchanan was able to announce to Congress that "a final settlement entirely satisfactory to this Government" had been reached. As the discussions on the not unrelated subject of filibustering came to a close at the same time, the story ends appropriately, after so much turmoil, in an atmosphere of profound calm.

These two volumes contain a considerably larger portion of footnote material than is to be found in the two preceding volumes. This is an improvement, as the related material thus introduced is often essential to the understanding of the principal documents. The maps and plans included are more numerous, perhaps naturally so, than those found in the two volumes for Argentina, Bolivia, and Brazil. An innovation worthy of note appears in the second volume of the present publication. The date of receipt, not hitherto indicated, is now stated in all cases in which the fact was noted on the document itself. This information, needless to say, will often prove of great importance to students of diplomatic history. The editing, it must be said in conclusion, has been done with the same painstaking attention to detail that characterizes all of Dr. Manning's work.

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José de San Martín, Libertador de la Argentina y de Chile, Protector del Perú. By EDUARDO GARCÍA DEL REAL. [Vidas españolas e hispanoamericanas del siglo XIX, vol. 27.] (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, S. A., 1932. Pp. 6, 260. Maps and ports.)

This small volume is based largely upon secondary works—but well-chosen ones—and is especially indebted to the monumental biography of the southern liberator by Bartolomé Mitre. Here and there in the text, Señor García inserts letters written by San Martín, previously published; and he usually leaves their analysis to the reader.

But the subject matter of the book is generally well organized and critically handled, and the presentation is clear and readable. As is to be expected in a volume of this series, the author, who is professor of the history of medicine at the University of Madrid, stresses the essential unity of Spaniards and Spanish Americans.

The first two chapters give a compact and interesting account of the background of the Spanish American wars for independence. In the third chapter, entitled "Infancia de San Martín", Señor García considers the problem of the date of the birth of San Martín, questions some of the data presented by Mitre, but reaches no conclusion.

Though he discards the legends which have grown up around San

Martín's name, he shows that San Martín possessed the virtues commonly credited to him—patience, self-abnegation, fairness, generosity, and true patriotism. His unbroken friendship for Belgrano and O'Higgins, as portrayed in this volume, throws a pleasing light on his personality and character. His enlightened administration of the province of Cuyo makes it apparent that his talents were not limited to the military.

Señor García seems to believe that Bolívar's real reason for refusing to lead troops into Peru at the request of San Martín was the fact that, as president of Colombia, he could not leave the country without legislative authorization. And he thinks that San Martín withdrew from Peru because he was unwilling to execute various of his officers for the purpose of restoring order and discipline in his army.

The general reader as well as the student of Hispanic American history will find Señor García del Real's little book useful.

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O Rio de Janeiro no Tempo dos Vice-reis (1763-1808). [Edição do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro]. By LUIZ EDMUNDO. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1932. Pp. 550. Illus.)

This is an elaborate work, based on extensive study of colonial source material. There are forty-six chapters, the first ten of which describe the shifting street scenes and the varied character of Rio de Janeiro in viceregal days. Then follow topics on Transportation, Popular Festas, *Allegorias*, Cavalcades, Bull Fights, *Congadas*, "*Serração da Velha*", The Ruler of the Divine [the Church], Masculine Fashions, Wigs, Feminine Fashions, Courtesies and Obligations, Social Gatherings, Courtship and Marriage, Kitchen and Table, The Theater, Medicine, Justice, The Pillory, The Gallows. The only notable omission from specific consideration is trade and commerce; but incidental glimpses are given of busy shops and markets. The illustrations by Washt Rodrigues, Henrique Cavalleiro, Carlos e Rodolpho Chambelland, Marques Junior, and Salvador Ferrez, were made in accordance with historical documents furnished by the author.

The author's style is simple, clear, realistic, and dramatic, with touches of biting sarcasm and of dry humor. And it etches on the

reader's mind vivid impressions of the colonial Brazilian metropolis, with its picturesque, colorful street crowds, its filth and bad odors, its amusements and crimes, its joys and sorrows, its jangling discords and soothing music, its daily round of life.

In the viceregal capital, law limited luxury in dress, but French modes were much imitated by high society. Etiquette was placed above personal cleanliness; but table manners were bad indeed. Though forks were in use long before the days of João VI., that king ate with his fingers, thus compelling the nobility to do likewise. In fact, even among the Brazilian élite life was more primitive than in many countries of contemporary Europe. Senhor Edmundo apparently thinks Affonso Taunay right in attributing this to Portugal's industrial enslavement to Great Britain, resulting in exorbitant prices for manufactured goods and, consequently, depriving the Brazilians of many commodities necessary to civilized life (p. 409).

The *cariocas* of the late colonial period diverted themselves with numerous pastimes and amusements. Some of these were introduced from the mother country; others were of colonial development; and still others showed African influence. Though the Portuguese type of *tourada* had a place, new forms of contests with bulls and steers were invented by the *vaqueiros* of the Brazilian *sertões*. The *congada* was an elaborate Negro *feira*, in connection with which the blacks crowned two of their number as king and queen, and on canopied thrones carried them in noisy procession through the city streets. Puppet shows were a popular amusement. But the upper classes preferred to patronize the theater and the *Casa da Opera* founded by Padre Ventura, who, says Senhor Edmundo, "melhor servia a Thalia que ao bom Deus, numa amavel transferencia de sacerdocio" (p. 435).

But despite their many diversions the people of colonial Rio were not characterized by lightness of heart; for their troubles were many. One of these was physical suffering. Tropical diseases were rampant, as were also other, more general, maladies. Among the pitiful groups of outcasts on the streets, lepers were more common than dogs. And little could be done to better conditions, for medical science still lagged. Trained and licensed physicians from Coimbra did not always inspire confidence; and of some of them one writer of the time declared that "curavam por ignorancia e matavam por experiencia" (p. 462).

Senhor Edmundo makes no secret of his dislike for the Church in viceregal Rio de Janeiro. It was a time, he says, of "great superstition and almost no religion" (p. 36). In the opinion of one contemporary, the clergy "were the first to give a bad example of shamelessness" (p. 38). In one of his many digs at priests and friars, the author remarks that they formed three distinct groups at social gatherings, "o dos que falam, o dos que mastigam, e o dos que dormem . . . Sejamos generosos para com estes ultimos, que são, naturalmente, os mais amaveis" (p. 320).

The father ruled his household with patriarchal power, and in some cases could kill with impunity his wife, children, or slaves. Crime was depressingly common throughout the population of the colonial capital. A report to the king, dated 1769, refers to the turbulent inhabitants as a "raça de crapulas e bandidos manchando a natureza sem igual" (p. 514). True justice was conspicuous by its absence. The privileged element—the clergy, official class, and *fidalgos*—were subject to lighter sentences for the same crimes than were the humble. And often by the free use of money they could escape all penalty, for the courts were notoriously corrupt. At times "justice" was personal, arbitrary, and ferocious.

The volume ends on a dismal note, with a detailed description of the trial and death on the gallows of the "Morning Star of Brazilian Independence", Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, better known as "Tiradentes".

It is evident that the author emphasizes the ignorant, sordid, and vicious aspects of life in the viceregal metropolis, and somewhat slights its more pleasing and creditable features. Nevertheless, he offers ample evidence that no present day *carioca* need look back wistfully to the Rio de Janeiro of his colonial ancestors.

The abundant illustrations—plates in black and white and attractive line drawings in sepia—add much to the value of the book. The paper and type are excellent. Authorities are cited informally in the text, but there is no bibliography. Senhor Luiz Edmundo has made an important contribution to our knowledge of life in colonial Brazil. His book is being translated into English.

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O Gabinete Caxias e a Amnestia dos Bispos na "Questão religiosa".

By E. VILHENA DA MORAES. (Rio de Janeiro: F. Briguiet & Cia., 1930. Pp. 153).

It is generally assumed that one of the indirect causes of the collapse of the Brazilian empire was the loss of the support of the clergy as a result of the so-called "religious question". The story of this, the major dispute between the church and state during the reign of Dom Pedro II., has been frequently told, but many elements are still obscure. The generally accepted view is that this unnecessary controversy was precipitated by the intemperate action of the Bishop of Olinda, D. Vital, who, supported by the Bishop of Pará, endeavored to expel all members of the masonic order from the religious and fraternal organizations known as *irmandades*. These brotherhoods, which were civil as well as religious organizations, appealed to the government. Dom Pedro took vigorous action. Not content with a condemnation of the bishops which the imperial minister in Rome, Baron Penedo, wrung from the pope, Dom Pedro had them tried before an imperial court. They were found guilty of exceeding their authority and sentenced to four years of hard labor. Dom Pedro commuted the hard labor and in 1875, under the ministry of the Duke of Caxias, the bishops were amnestied. But the harm had been done. The members of the clergy were so embittered by the treatment of the bishops that they proved a broken reed in the empire's hour of direct need.

The work under review is an uncritical attempt to vindicate the memory of "the illustrious Confessor and Martyr of the Faith in the Empire of Santa Cruz", i. e., Dom Vital. The masons are the wolves which would devour the flock of the faithful sheparded by the two martyred bishops, and are naturally saddled with the sole responsibility for this unhappy conflict. The author promises some revelations which will render obsolete the conclusions of such men as Joaquim Nabuco, Viveiros de Castro, and Oliveira Lima. These "revelations" reduce themselves to a letter of Dom Pedro to Caxias in which he intimates that he is opposed to the amnesty unless the bishops agree to raise the interdict resting upon certain churches that had disobeyed Dom Vital's orders, and a letter, printed in the original Italian, of Pope Pius IX. to Dom Pedro begging him to pardon the bishops. The author has also apparently proved his point that the amnesty of the

bishops was owing, not to the intervention of D. Isabel, the emperor's daughter, but to the Duke of Caxias, the secular hero of the story, this despite the embarrassing fact that he was a mason himself.

This work, which throughout treats the emperor and his attitude with scant courtesy, radiates more heat than light; as a serious contribution to the subject its value is questionable.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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El General Eugenio Garzón, Soldado de la Independencia Americana.

By TELMO MANACORDA. (Montevideo: Imprensora Uruguaya, 1931. Pp. 325.)

The scholarly director of the Museo Histórico has made in the present work a very real contribution to the history of the Spanish American wars of independence. Though Garzón at no times rises to the military stature of a San Martín, a Bolívar, or even a Sucre he well deserves a full-dress biography. Next to Artigas he was probably the greatest Uruguayan figure in the early part of the revolution against Spain, but unlike the great Uruguayan caudillo the theatre of his activities embraced large parts of the continent. Born in Montevideo in 1796, he joined the forces of Artigas at the age of fifteen, was a lieutenant under Rondeau, a captain under San Martín, and a colonel under Bolívar. After participating in many of the important engagements of the period, including the battle of Ayacucho, he returned to Buenos Aires and fought with the Argentine forces against Brazil until the end of the campaign in 1828.

But Garzón, like many others of the period, found peace and civil life irksome. He never forgot that he was an Uruguayan and, once Spanish America was free from Spain, he threw himself heart and soul into the civil wars which desolated his country from the time of Rivera and Oribe up to his death in 1851. The present work, however, carries the story only through 1830. The book is written not only with competency but with literary charm. Another "prócer de independencia" lives and moves before us. Sr. Manacorda is well-versed in the technique of historical investigation. The copious references to his sources, most of which are to be found in the archives of Argentina, Peru, and Uruguay indicate clearly the amount of spade work which has gone into the preparation of this biography.

An index is lacking but this is perhaps too much to hope for in the case of a biography written in Hispanic America.

It is a satisfaction to learn that the writer is now engaged on other important projects of a historical character. An account of the later years of his hero will shortly appear under the title of *El General Eugenio Garzón, Soldado de las Guerras civiles en el Río de la Plata*. The Spanish firm of Espasa-Calpe has just published his *Vida heroica del General Fructuoso Rivera* (1934) which enjoyed a huge literary success in Montevideo. Finally he has announced that he is working on the biography of perhaps the most interesting man in modern Uruguayan history, *Battle—el Hombre de nuestro Tiempo*.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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Bibliografía de Don José Cecilio del Valle. By RAFAEL HELIODORO VALLE. (Mexico: Ediciones de Número, 1934. Pp. 40.)

The year 1934 marks the centenary of the death of one of the greatest of Central Americans. José Cecilio del Valle, publicist, juriconsult, and statesman, yet awaits a worthy biographer. Born in Honduras in 1780, he had the best education afforded by the schools of Guatemala and at the age of twenty-three was appointed attorney of the royal audiencia. In 1810, he was chosen to represent León de Guatemala in the Suprema Junta Central de España e Indias. In 1821, he drew up the act of independence of Central America, and the following year was elected deputy of Tegucigalpa and Chiquimula to the constituent congress of Mexico. For a time he was a supporter of Iturbide but he soon fell out with this ruler who ordered his imprisonment. On the overthrow of Iturbide and the separation of Central America from Mexico he became a candidate for the presidency of the latter republic, but was defeated by Morazán by the narrowest of margins. He was, however, elected in 1834 but died before he could assume office.

When the full and rich life of this eminent Honduran comes to be written the author will find his bibliography prepared for him. The distinguished critic and bibliophile Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle is himself a Honduran, though he has resided many years in Mexico. He is no relation to the object of this study. In the preparation of this bibliography, which is written according to the most exacting canons

of historical scholarship, Sr. Valle has performed a very real service. Sixty-nine items, many of them with long commentaries, deal with the writings and speeches of the illustrious Valle himself. Eleven items arranged chronologically are devoted to the iconography of Valle. One hundred and ten items, arranged alphabetically by authors, are included under the caption "Bibliografía sobre Valle". Among the names to be found in this section are those of Alberdi, Jeremy Bentham (who was one of Valle's correspondents), Ruben Darío, Matías Romero, Manuel Ugarte, and that of Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle himself who had frequent occasions to mention Don José Cecilio del Valle in his admirable collection of documents entitled "La anexión de Centro América a México", in numbers 11 and 24 of the well-known series of the *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano* (México, 1924 and 1928). In a word, Sr. Valle has written a model bibliography of its kind and has placed all future students of Central American history under a very real obligation.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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Un Juez de Indias: Vida documental de José Francisco Heredia. By JOSÉ MARÍA CHACÓN Y CALVO. (Madrid: Tipografía de Archivos, 1933. Pp. 170.)

The conquistador, Pedro de Heredia el Adelantado, founder of Cartagena, had a descendant, Capitán Manuel de Heredia of Santo Domingo, who, when Toussaint L'Ouverture made the Spanish tremble, put his son José Francisco, as escort of his five daughters, aboard a schooner bound for Cuba. Wrecked on an uninhabited shore of Venezuela, almost by miracle the passengers got to land. There they would have died of thirst but for the resolute vigor of José Francisco, who made his way three leagues inland and found water. In that wilderness for two years the young man and his sisters lived in utmost poverty. Meanwhile, his father, Captain Manuel, had fled from L'Ouverture's violence to Cuba with a multitude of others in the same peril. In Cuba, his son and daughters joined him. The young man, José Francisco, in view of the family's total loss of their Santo Domingo estates and his own standing as graduate in law, was made Asesor of West Florida. In 1806, he arrived at Pensacola, which he described as wretched beyond description: "No hay aquí sino arena

y miseria." While in that isolation, the French invasion occurred, which served to show the mettle and abilities of Heredia. At the age of thirty-three he was in recompense made oidor of the audiencia of Caracas.

Here his true career began, for he was now face to face with revolution and in the emergency his judicial mind and conciliatory diplomacy made him mediator, and, on the collapse of the revolution in 1812, regent. He had gained the goodwill of all concerned except that of General Monteverde. The struggle between the far-seeing mind and humane spirit of Heredia and the narrow view and arbitrary vengeance of Monteverde was the most critical feature of that fateful moment in American history. It is remarkable that it has had, heretofore, such brief mention in the histories; here it is documented more fully than has been possible previously. Monteverde won. Heredia thought in terms of all Spanish America and his argument was over the head of the general and his upholders. When the shortsighted Monteverde tells him that peace has been restored, Heredia answers: "Nowhere is there greater tranquility than in a desert or a cemetery".

Then came, with Bolívar, as Heredia had foreseen, the renewed fight for justice and liberty. Both Monteverde and Heredia, the foe and the friend of liberty and justice, were indiscriminately ridden down. Heredia took refuge in Cuba, but in Cuba also the times were rude and rage had its unthinking way, and again Heredia's calm and humane counsels were rejected and he was swept aside, to an obscure post in Mexico, where in obscurity he died. His son the poet, José María Heredia, wrote of him:

Siempre fué libre. De su frente pura
el ceño augusto fatigó al tirano,
cuya cobarde y vengativa mano
vertió en su vida cáliz de amargura.

Señor Chacón, y Calvo has done a very real service to American history in presenting anew the life of this great judge and patriot, heroically lived at the most critical Spanish-American hour. Here are data unknown to his former biographer, Enrique Piñeyro, who in 1905 had made Heredia's name familiar and significant by his edition of the *Memorias* preceded by a scholarly introduction. Señor Chacón's study greatly enlarges the view with fifty-seven inedited docu-

ments which he discovered in the Archivo General de Indias at Sevilla. He calls his work

vida documental de Heredia, no vida documentada. Cómo se desenvuelve la vida de Heredia al través de los documentos—esa es la finalidad del repertorio que hemos formado.

The documents occupy 129 of the 165 pages.

This is the twenty-third publication of the eminent Cuban scholar; four of his studies deal with the life and works of José Francisco's son, the poet, José María Heredia; nearly all the rest concern Cuban history, from its origins both political and literary.

S. L. MILLARD ROSENBERG.

Ana Cariná Rote. Origenes del Militarismo heroico en Venezuela. By BRIGADIER J. C. TERRERO MONAGAS. (Caracas: Editorial Elite, 1933. Pp. 256.)

It may seem a far cry from Hitlerism and other forms of present-day militant nationalism to the political and military life of the Caribbean Indians, but this study has a contemporary suggestiveness. The title of the book is a Carib battle-cry "Ourselves only", the most characteristic expression of this virile people the author tells us. He holds that the sense of nationality was highly developed among them coupled with the sense of equality.

The title, *Cacique*, had no meaning in the Carib tongue other than the rank it represented in the military organization: for example, *Cacique Guacanagari* (*General of the Canagari zone*). . . . It is not true, as is generally believed, that the cacique gave his name to the place and to his followers through his greater significance. Valor and heroism among the Caribs were collective, because the glories of triumph belonged to the nation and not to any of its members individually; they were manifest in the unity of the nation and constituted therefore the most advanced principle of military discipline. (P. 25.)

The book is divided into two parts; the first treats of the military organization of the Caribs, the second of their resistance to the Spanish conquerors. The expansion of this roving, warlike people over the region from the Amazon to Florida was made possible by knowledge of the naval art as well as of the military. The long canoes of the Caribs were fitted out with sails before the Spanish galleons came. It is generally conceded that they excelled all the Indians in their knowledge of navigation. In their conquest of other tribes they fol-

lowed a policy of "divide and rule", scattering the women and children of the conquered among other groups. This practice the author holds accounts for the great confusion of tongues among the Indians of Tierra Firme.

The military culture of the Caribs is described in considerable detail, illustrated with diagrams, drawings, and reproductions of pictures found in rare works of the sixteenth century. It includes a general analysis of the military conditions among the Caribs; a description of the military and naval zones; the elaborate military organization; the arms, with emphasis on the use of poisons (even gases being used to some extent); the system of fortifications; the institutions for military education, in which the women had an important part; and, finally, an evaluation of their distinctive methods of fighting, their strategy and art of mimicry. Special attention is given to the origin and evolution of the lance and the *lanceros*, who became famous on the *llanos* for their skill in the handling of the horse introduced by the Spaniards as well as in the use of the lance.

Upon the success of the Spanish arms in the Antilles, the Caribs withdrew from this part of the Caribbean, changing their naval base from Guadalupe to the Orinoco and the Amazon. In Tierra Firme they were never really subdued by the Spanish troops, but the missionaries destroyed their dominion over their subject tribes and restricted their area of control. The author points to the contribution of the descendants of the Caribs in the Oriente and on the Orinoco to the success of the war against Spain in this section and to the fact that Bolívar called for troops from these regiments to be sent to help in the conquest of Perú. It might be observed, however, that *llaneros*, possibly descendants of the Caribs among them, had earlier joined the forces of Boves against the revolutionary movement.

The book is an interesting study of the Indian element in the evolution of the Venezuelan nation. Some Venezuelan writers would hold no doubt that the author claims too much for the Carib influence in the establishment of Venezuelan nationality. Arcaya finds unity, it appears, only in caudilloism; Vallenilla Lanz emphasizes the struggle for nationality and equality but seems to find the chief sources in the influence of French revolutionary philosophy and the integrating force of the struggle for independence, not in Indian traditions.

There is a bibliography, containing a number of the more important works on the Caribs and the Spanish conquest in Tierra

Firme. The author states that it is only a partial list. He has spent some years among the remnants of the Caribs on the upper Orinoco, studying their customs and traditions.

MARY WATTERS.

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Voodooos and Obeahs. Phases of West India Witchcraft. By JOSEPH J. WILLIAMS, S. J. (New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1933. Pp. xix, 257. \$3.00.)

Traducido el título de este libro a la fonética española, lo denominaríamos *Vodús y Obís. Fases de la Brujería en las Antillas*. El autor de este libro es un erudito padre jesuita dedicado a los estudios de etnografía africana, así en cuanto se refiere a los negros de Africa, como a sus descendientes afroamericanos. Ya ha publicado dos obras en ese campo; una, *Whisperings of the Caribbean* (New York, 1925), en el cual se refiere en parte a las supervivencias religiosas de los negros jamaquinos; y otra *Hebrewisms of West Africa* (New York, 1930), en la cual sostiene la tesis de los influjos hebreos entre los pueblos ashentis.

La primera observación que se hace al leer este libro es la de que es una recopilación completa de la bibliografía acerca de los dos temas que lo componen, o sea, el *Vodú* de Haití y el *Obí* de Jamaica. La segunda observación es la de que en cuanto al *Obí* de los afrojamaquinos, el autor aporta contactos personales con el tema, obtenidos en varios años de residencia en Jamaica, y que en cuanto al *Vodú* haitiano el autor se limita a exponer e interpretar su amplia erudición bibliográfica sobre el asunto sin avalorarla con datos directos obtenidos sobre el campo en el cual el nunca ha estado. Y ésto es lamentable, después de tanto que se ha escrito sobre el *Vodú* de los negros de Haití, unas veces en sentido despectivo para los haitianos, exajerándoles las más atavísticas supervivencias de sus ritos religiosos, y otras veces con orientación apasionadamente nacionalista negadora casi de la realidad de una vívida continuidad étnica de ideas, mitos y liturgias entre los haitianos de hoy y sus antepasados de Guinea; y, sobre todo, después de libros como *The Magic Island*, por W. D. Seabrook (New York, 1929), trazados con hebras de propia observación sobre una urdimbre de literatura novelesca. Hoy más que nunca es necesario un libro

acerca del *Vodú*, escrito con criterio científicamente etnográfico, pero basado en un amplio fondo de investigaciones directas y objetivas.

El libro de Williams está desarrollado sobre la siguiente tesis en cuanto al *Vodú*. En Africa existe la ofiolatría, cosa indudable allí como en todos los países y épocas donde el hombre no vive apartado de la naturaleza, donde los ofidios abundan, especialmente los de gran tamaño, y donde su incultura no le ha permitido todavía salir de esa fase donde las divinidades adoptan para él caracterizaciones zoomorfas. La ofiolatría existió hasta entre los indios aruacas de Haití y de Cuba, y éste es un interesante tema para ligarlo al estudio del *Vodú* haitiano.

El culto de la serpiente es predominante en Whydah, población del Dahomey, de donde fueron llevadas a la antigua isla Quisqueya por los franceses millares de negros esclavizados quienes no abandonaron en las Antillas sus creencias y prácticas religiosas. Así asegura con razón el P. Williams. Sin duda, la base étnica troncal de los negros de Haití está constituida por la predominante inmigración de esclavos procedentes del Dahomey, de esa familia que los etnógrafos contemporáneos llaman *ewe*, o *egüe*, castellanizando el vocablo.

El autor concluye con esta síntesis: el *Vodú* en Haití es primeramente y en sustancia la supervivencia del culto de la serpiente en el Dahomey, y ese concepto y denominación del *Vodú* se extiende después a todas las prácticas rituales no cristianas de los estratos inciviles de la población haitiana, aún a aquéllas alejadas de la ofiolatría y de la religión de los dahomeyanos, y hasta a bailes profanos y demás entretenimientos populares. En 1768 una corriente religiosa penetró en Haití, procedente de Cuba, llevada por un tal *Don Pedro*, negro criollo, y de ahí ciertas prácticas canibalistas que se unieron al *Vodú*, junto con otras de hechicería que introdujo en Haití un tal Broukman, derivadas del *Obí* de Jamaica. Poco a poco el culto pasó de los buenos espíritus a los malos, hasta degenerar en el culto de la sangre, sobre todo logrando su paroxismo en el sacrificio humano. La religión de Whydah, termina el P. Williams, se ha convertido en la brujería de Haití. La tesis que nosotros creemos más sólida es distinta. Sin duda, los negros dahomeyanos, o como en Cuba se les llamó, *dajomés*, o *ararás*, etc., fueron traídos a las Américas por los negreros franceses desde las factorías de Whydah y Ardrá, y fueron ofiólatras, transportando a las Antillas sus creencias y entre ellas el *Vodú*. Ya por ahí se explicó el origen dahomeyano del *Vodú* en Haití, por Saint-

Mery, y luego, con acopio de datos científicos, por Maurice Delafosse,¹ secundado por el africanólogo francés Paul Rivet² citando generosamente nuestro libro *Los Negros Brujos*.

Hasta en Cuba, donde no predominaron los *ewe*, he encontrado dioses, mitos, músicas y tambores de ese indudable origen, con ciertos detalles ofiolátricos. Pero la interpretación del *Vodú* y de su proliferación en Haití no nos parece seguir las líneas vistas por el P. Williams.

Ante todo, no cabe dudar de que la voz *Vodú* no es específica del culto ofiolátrico del Dahomey. Es vocablo *ewe*, derivado de la raíz *vo* "aterrorizar", "temor reverencial", "lo sacro". *Vodú* en ese idioma significa generalmente "dios" o "ser sobrenatural", "algo misterioso de poder ultramundano".

Vodú es, pues, un vocablo muy genérico y se aplica a la serpiente sagrada y a su culto, como a todo lo que allí es sacro y transido de religión. Parece pues natural e indispensable que al venir los negros *ewe* a las Antillas con su lenguaje y sus creencias, como con sus tambores y músicas, siguieran usando ese vocablo *Vodú* en el mismo sentido genérico con que lo emplean en la tierra africana. Y *Vodú* se llamó en Haití como en Dahomey, a todo lo religioso: dioses, ídolos, fetiches, creencias, *majás*, bailes, instrumentos y cantos. Y como por favorables circunstancias históricas el culto de la sierpe, tan destacado entre los hijos de Whydah y André, se adaptó muy bien a la abundancia de culebras grandes e inofensivas en las Antillas, éste fué el más llamativo para el populacho haitiano que realizó con la religión de sus abuelos *ewe* y los demás de Guinea, el Gabón y el Congo, así como con las ya corrompidas prácticas de *Don Pedro* y las supersticiones *Obí* de Jamaica, y hasta con los dogmas y simbolismos del catolicismo de los franceses, el mismo sincretismo que se ha efectuado en todas las épocas y pueblos que han experimentado el entrechoque de las más dispares y encontradizas religiones. El *Vodú* de Haití no procede de la ofiolatría de Whydah. Las supervivencias de ésta en Haití son ciertamente *Vodú*, pero son *Vodú* como lo es todo lo sacro en la patria ancestral del núcleo africano que dió los más de los pobladores de Haití. Después, naturalmente, se adhieren sincréticamente

¹ *De quelques persistances d'ordre ethnographique chez les descendants des Nègres transportés aux Antilles et á la Guyane. "Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie" V. III. 1929, p. 234.*

² *Journal de la Société des Americanistes de Paris. Paris, 1913. V. X. Fasc. 2, p. 623.*

al *Vodú* ortodoxo los *ewe* transportados a Haití, las mitologías y ritos de los otros pueblos africanos. Así como en Cuba predominó la mítica y liturgias de los negros nagos, yorubas o lucumís, venidas de la cuenca del río Níger, limítrofe con el Dahomey, y en ella se fundieron las creencias *vodú* de los negros *dajomés*, *ararás*, *majino* y otros de la familia *ewe*, así como otros cultos y magias más disipadas de los pueblos bantús y semibantús.

En cuanto a la procedencia de los resabios homofágicos que esporádicamente suceden en Haití y que el P. Williams deriva de las prácticas importadas por *Don Pedro* (pág 73), o de las degeneraciones paranoicas consiguientes a los delirios orgiásticos tan frecuentes en esos ritos haitianos (págs. 106 y 107), parece recomendable acudir a una explicación más científica basándose en el sentido mágico de los sacrificios humanos y de las antropofagias, sobre el cual es ocioso tratar aquí.

Digamos de paso que los párrafos copiados de H. H. Johnston (*The Negro in the New World*, London, 1910), referentes a las creencias y ritos de los negros cubanos están totalmente equivocados; si bien Johnston es excusable, pues, como él mismo dice, sólo refiere lo que en Cuba le dijeron personas incultas e ignorantes de lo que referían.

Todavía tienen que permitirnos algunas notas. Se describe la danza del *Vodú*, como una sin tambores ni instrumentos. Acaso sea esa danza una del culto pitónico; pero es indudable que en los ritos *Vodú* del Dahomey se usan tambores sacros. De la simple comparación etnográfica y organológica de los tambores usados en Haití con los instrumentos dahomeyanos, puede asegurarse su equivalencia sin vacilación alguna. También en los bailes sacros del cabildo de los dahomeyanos en la Habana, se usaban esos tambores, algunos de los cuales, es interesante advertirlo, tenían simbólicas ornamentaciones ofiomórficas. Las danzas secretas del *Vodú*, a que se refiere el P. Williams, siguiendo a pasados escritores, debieron carecer de tañido de tambores, solo por razón de ser secretas. De la misma manera que el tambor de los tres *batús* de los ritos yorubas en Cuba, se sustituye a veces por el chischasgueo de otros instrumentos percusivos menos ruidosos, o simplemente por el simple canturreo rítmico a media voz.

La desaparición de la serpiente de las ceremonias y danzas *Vodú* en Haití, parece comprobar la simple lateralidad de ese culto ofio-

látrico, que antaño fué uno de los elementos de la amplia religión o *Vodú* de los dahomeyanos, pero no su elemento central y más sustancioso. El tiempo ha hecho desaparecer la culebra del *Vodú*, como otros accesorios rituales, y permanece lo fundamental, lo demoníaco y extásico, el paroxismo evasivo que constituye la esencia sensual de las liturgias dionisiacas.

El *Vodú* y el *Obí* son distintos, precisa muy bien el autor. No sólo porque el uno es de Haití y el otro de Jamaica, sino porque uno y otro tienen sentidos diversos. El *Vodú* es religión; el *Obí* es hechicería, ortodoxia y herejía.

Además el P. Williams explica el *Obí* afrojamaquino por la oriundez de sus creencias, traídas por los negros ashantís, grupo de los llamados *tshi*.

El vocablo *Obí*, opina el P. Williams, procede no ya del egipcio *ob*, sino del lenguaje Canaán, de donde egipcios y hebreos lo derivaron y pasaron a los ashantís. En este pueblo, el vocablo *Obayifo* significa "cierto lagarto" y "un brujo"; y de él vino el *Obí* de Jamaica. *Obí* es, pues, la hechicería.

Esta, en Jamaica como en Ashanti y en todos los pueblos, lucha con la religión ortodoxa, que entre los ashantis se llama *O Konifo*. Una es secreta, perseguida y temida; otra es abierta, solemne y reverenciada.

Respecto al *Obí*, y a las ideas y ritos religiosos afrojamaquinos, el P. Williams no da también una completa erudición bibliográfica y más directas observaciones.

El libro es un buen aporte al estudio erudito de las religiones africanas trasplantadas a las Antillas y de la literatura acerca de esos temas.

FERNANDO ORTÍZ.

Habana, Cuba.

Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas. Edited and Annotated by CHARLES WILSON HACKETT. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1931. Vol. I. Pp. XX, 630. Illus., folding maps. \$6.50.)

In a note to Onís in 1816, resuming diplomatic relations with Spain, Secretary Monroe recapitulated the American position on standing points of dispute, chief among which were the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase:

With respect to the western boundary of Louisiana, I have to remark, that the Government has never doubted, since the treaty of 1803, that it extended to the Rio Bravo; satisfied I am, if the claims of the two nations were submitted to an impartial tribunal, who observing the principles applicable to the case, and tracing facts as to discovery and settlement, on either side, that such would be its decision. The discovery of the Mississippi as low down as the Arkansas, in 1673, and to its mouth in 1680, and the establishment of settlements on that river, and on the bay of St. Bernard, on the western side of the Colorado, in 1685, under the authority of France, when the nearest settlement of Spain was in the province of Panuco, are facts which place the claim of the United States on ground not to be shaken. It is known that nothing occurred afterwards on the part of France to weaken this claim. The difference which afterwards took place between France and Spain, respecting Spanish encroachments there, and the war which ensued, to which they contributed, tend to confirm it.

This claim to Texas was presented by Monroe and Pinckney at Madrid in the spring of 1805. Though Foreign Minister Cevallos's reply might seem to leave little to be desired, the persistent Americans showed no disposition to be convinced, and the negotiation soon ended in a deadlock. Need of a more impressive exposition and argument being felt by Spain, the viceroy at Mexico City was directed by a royal order of May 20, 1805, to search for and collect every possible document and historical notice bearing upon Spain's discovery, exploration, and occupation that would tend to show its indefeasible right to Texas in particular, and to the Mississippi Valley in general.

The research, begun in 1807 by Fray Melchor de Talamantes, as head of a historical commission, was taken over in October, 1808, by José Antonio Pichardo. The resulting monumental brief, which makes extensive quotations from a wide range of primary and secondary sources in Spanish, French, and English, so that it is a veritable encyclopedia of exploration and description, is obviously the fruit of diligent search and immense labor. In 1812, the completed work was submitted to the authorities in 3000 folio pages, which lie today in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación at Mexico City. Pichardo divided his treatise into four Parts, preceded by an Introduction. Part I is an argumentative demonstration "That Spain was the legal, sole, and absolute owner of all the domain in which the French founded Louisiana, and, consequently, that the French proceeded with much injustice and iniquity in settling Louisiana when they discovered it". Part II describes this domain, giving "a complete idea of Louisiana". Part III describes the boundaries of

French Louisiana, which "the piety of the Catholic King, in order to avoid wars and shedding of human blood, permitted them (although with grief in his heart) to hold". "In Part IV," Pichardo says in the Foreword, "the objections will be eliminated which may be offered as a basis for not accepting these limits". Only one fourth—Part I and half of Part II—of Pichardo's Treatise is encompassed in the first volume. "On the whole", says Professor Hackett,

the subjects discussed in this volume are better known than the ones which are subsequently discussed by the author. Indeed, Pichardo's greatest contribution in the way of historical data is in the last half of his treatise where are detailed significant and little-known events that occurred in the Spanish province of Texas in the three-quarters of a century preceding the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States in 1803.

Early in his Introduction Pichardo states: "Since the boundaries between Louisiana and the Spanish possessions in the area never have been fixed definitely, it is necessary that the discussion should be entirely historical". If Pichardo's premise—urged by Spain in its American negotiations—is true and ingenuous, Spain's right to Texas, by exploration and occupation, is demonstrated beyond serious reply. Some indications that the Rio Grande was made the *de jure* boundary of Louisiana in 1762 are noted in the reviewer's paper in a recent number of this REVIEW—inconclusive indications which if well founded would speak ill of Spain's candor, although that country could be little blamed for seeking to escape delivery to the United States of territory which it may have been ready to yield under duress to Napoleon after 1800 because of a technical right admitted to France in 1762 under the intimacy of the Family Compact and the peculiar circumstances. Whether the appearances of early delimitation are true or spurious further investigation may decide.

Professor Hackett's scholarly notes to the text are abundant and most illuminating, and add greatly to the lasting value of *Pichardo's Treatise* as a detailed history, drawn from every available source, of Spain's explorations in the Mississippi Valley, its occupation of Texas, and its relations with the French in Louisiana. To enhance its clarity and usefulness, the editor has divided the treatise into logical paragraphs and chapters, and included prints of two early maps. Besides the many historical works, early and late, cited in the notes, a comprehensive bibliography is provided at the end, along with an elaborate index. The editing is, in brief, painstaking and exem-

plar. In the work of translating the aid of Miss Charmion Shelby and Miss Mary Splawn is acknowledged. This and the forthcoming volumes from Professor Hackett will stand as a classic for this period in the history of Texas and the Louisiana frontier.

RICHARD R. STENBERG.

University of Arkansas.

The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806. By JOHN BARTLETT BREBNER. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933. Pp. xv, 502. Maps. Index. \$3.50.)

Scholars have long been awaiting this volume. It is in a class with Priestley's *Coming of the White Man*. It is not the last word—perhaps this subject can have no last word—but it synthesizes the explorations of over three centuries better than any single volume that has yet appeared. Its author has read and absorbed widely and has produced a work of which he may well be proud. From the first landing of Columbus to the achievements of Lewis and Clark, the exploration of this continent proceeded step by step until the whole area was known in its larger details.

The results of the various expeditions are well stated without too much of the apparatus of scholarship being visible. An excellent feature is the selective bibliography at the end of each chapter. The volume is on the whole well written although it is uneven in various places; and at times the author reaches a high point in his power of narrative. His problem, one would gather, has been the emphasis that should be given to each distinct expedition; but he has fairly well met this, although others would not always lay the emphasis where he has; and some might accuse him of giving too many details of familiar events instead of merely stating results.

The whole narrative rests logically on the opening sentence: "Unless mankind is to embark some day on interplanetary exploration, there can never again be a geographical adventure like the discovery and exploration of the Americas." Once the continent of North America was reached, exploration was pushed steadily and persistently forward until preconceived theories and false assumptions were corrected by actual recorded observations. How many unrecorded observations were made by nameless wanderers will never be known, but doubtless there were many of them, and the author is

quite correct in suggesting that some of these may well have inspired recorded explorations.

In his twenty-four chapters, Mr. Brebner tells of the advances made by Spaniards, French, British, Russians, and Americans. The first six chapters of the volume will be of special interest to students of Hispanic America. They replot old ground, but the furrows have, on the whole, been turned with care. Various other chapters, noting contact between Spaniards and other Europeans are also of interest for the study of Hispanic America.

The statements made by the author are generally correct. It is more probable that the majority of Narvaez's men were drowned instead of being killed by the Indians (p. 71). The author has well shown the economic lure that led so often to exploration, and that back of that lay the political. This is well illustrated by the Spanish explorations in Florida and adjacent territory, of the French in Canada and Louisiana, and the Lewis and Clark expedition. Precious metals in the south, furs in the north were compelling factors, but one must never lose sight of the political background; and it is to Mr. Brebner's credit that he has not allowed himself to forget this.

Until some other scholar can produce a better book than this in its general grasp of the subject, this volume will hold first place. It emphasizes the need for a complete work on the cartographical evolution of North America, with maps and descriptions. Doubtless many articles dealing with a portion of the subject, such as "The Early Cartography of the Missouri Valley", by Raphael N. Hamilton (see *American Historical Review* for July, 1934), and longer monographs will be needed before this can be done.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

Catálogo de los Documentos relativos a las Islas Filipinas existentes en el Archivo de las Indias de Sevilla. (1636-1644). Vol. VIII. By FRANCISCO NAVAS DEL VALLE. Preceded by a *Historia General de Filipinas*. By PABLO PASTELLS, S. J. (Barcelona: Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1933. Pp. ccxc, 253, [1]. 30 pesetas.)

This eighth volume is fully up to the level of its predecessors. In point of time, it deals with the administration of governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera, and especially with his campaign in Min-

danao and Jolo and the second Chinese insurrection. The continuation of Father Pastells's history, in ten chapters, proceeds along the lines laid down by the learned author in previous volumes. The period covered was a critical one in the history of the Philippines. Hurtado de Corcuera was one of the outstanding governors of the archipelago and an excellent administrator. Among the chief events of his term of office were his troubles with the archbishop and the friar orders—he always retained the friendship and favor of the Jesuits—and his campaigns against the Moros. Had succeeding governors displayed the same firmness, the disastrous Moro raids which disturbed the islands almost to the end of Spanish rule would perhaps have been avoided entirely or in large measure.

With generous quotations from the original manuscripts, Father Pastells narrates not only the trouble between the secular and ecclesiastical authorities, but also the hostilities of the Dutch, the history of the missions in the islands and in Japan, the publication in Mexico of a pamphlet hostile to the governor, the inter-ecclesiastical troubles, the Chinese insurrection of 1639 (which never should have been allowed to occur), and commerce. As in previous volumes, the history is related without a great deal of criticism, which makes this the work rather of an annalist than of a historian, notwithstanding that the historia general contains much that is of the utmost value to the student.

The list of documents covers Nos. 15,947-18,102, and shows well the richness of Philippine materials in the Archivo de Indias. The calendaring is well done. A typical entry is the following:

16949. 1639, Jan. 2-Dec. 31. Pliego de cargo en las cuentas de los Oficiales Reales de Acapulco, de los pesos de oro que remitieron los de Méjico para gastos de las Islas Filipinas. 5-4-9/22.

The list is of the utmost value to students. Used with the Blair-Robertson series, as well as Pastells's narrative, its value is apparent without further discussion.

Since the inception of this important series, both of the original authors and compilers have died. When the series started, the former chief of the Archivo de Indias, the genial Sr. Don Pedro Torres Lanzas, to whose industry so many calendars and other aids to the documents of the archives are owed, sponsored the listing of the documents. Some little time ago he passed to his reward, and is

remembered for his kindly acts to many scholars who sought his aid. On August 16, 1932, died Father Pastells, who knew the Archivo de Indias as did few Spaniards. To him, the secretary and treasurer of the Compañía General, Sr. Don José Sánchez Garrigós devotes a brief biography of seven pages, and quite appropriately, a portrait of Father Pastells appears as a frontispiece to this volume. It is good to know that the learned Jesuit finished the writing and editing of his narrative up to and including the fourteenth volume before his death.

The announced intention of the Compañía General to issue two separate books to each volume—one of narrative and one of calendars—has not been persisted in beyond the seventh volume (the single instance). It might not be amiss to note here that Father Pastells, who knew the Philippines from actual experience and loved them, supplied various annotations to the Blair and Robertson translation of Pedro Chirino's *Relacion*. The present volume, like its predecessors, is a contribution to Spanish colonization.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Professor William R. Shepherd, long identified with Columbia University, and one of those who earliest introduced courses in Hispanic American History in the United States, died several months ago in Europe. Although he had been ill for several years, his death came as a profound shock to his colleagues and his many students. Since the inception of this REVIEW, Professor Shepherd had been one of its advisory editors. He had also graciously consented to accept the position of editor-in-chief of the Hispanic American historical atlas which is to be published in the Inter-American Historical Series. A thorough and broadminded scholar, the present writer who was with him in the Archivo de Indias in 1903, well remembers his exultation at discovering the naturalization papers of General Wilkinson as a Spanish citizen hidden away in a commercial document on which it had no bearing. An appreciation of Professor Shepherd, by one who has been closely associated with him for some years will be published soon in this REVIEW.

In the death of Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., at Santa Barbara, on April 27, 1934, California has lost one of its most famous historians. His histories of the missions of Lower and Upper California, though written distinctly from the Franciscan point of view, have long been regarded as canonical. His work is not to end with his death. The Franciscan order long ago recognized its importance and set about training a successor to carry it on. It is expected that his assistant, Father Maynard Geiger, O. F. M., will take up the unfinished task. Pursuant thereto, Father Geiger has been taking graduate work in the Catholic University of America, studying especially with the Rev. Dr. Francis Borgia Steck. In the early summer, he was recalled to Santa Barbara to arrange Father Engelhardt's papers, which he will index and file. On finishing these, he will go to Spain, where a large number of documents relating to the Franciscans have recently been discovered at Toledo. Among the late Father Engelhardt's works may be mentioned: *The missions and missionaries of California* (San Francisco, 1908-1915; 2nd edition, Santa Barbara,

Santa Barbara Mission, 1929), and a large number of monographs on individual missions.—P. A. M.

Brazil has just recently lost within a single month, two of her best scholars, namely, João Ribeiro and João Pandiá Calogeras, who died respectively on the 13th and 21st, of April last. João Baptista Ribeiro de Andrada Fernandes was born in the small town of Laranjeiras, State of Sergipe, in northeastern Brazil, on June 24, 1860. At the age of 20 he went to Rio de Janeiro where he became a journalist, soon distinguishing himself for his literary style, breadth of vision, and encyclopaedic knowledge. His never quenched thirst for knowledge led him to study, and become proficient in numerous fields such as mathematics, geography, history, linguistics, and literature, which he taught at one time or another in different schools and wrote about. In 1895, he visited Europe for the first time and studied, at the request of the Brazilian Government, the public educational systems of England, France, Germany, and Italy. In 1901, he was attached to the Brazilian boundary commission headed by Joaquim Nabuco and charged with the preparation of the Brazilian case in the dispute over the boundary with British Guiana, which was submitted to the arbitration of the king of Italy. His intellectual production was varied and numerous. Among his best known works are: *Historia do Brazil* (1909) a one-volume text of great repute, and, in collaboration with Sylvio Romero, *Historia da Litteratura Brasileira*, (?) His clearness of thought, intellectual integrity, simplicity of life, and human sympathies rank João Ribeiro among the foremost Brazilian scholars.—R. d'E.

On April 21, 1934, died one of the foremost historians and political figures in Brazil, João Pandiá Calogeras. He was born in Minas Geraes in 1870 and was the son of a naturalized Greek, João Bautista Calogeras. His singularly fruitful life embraced a wide range of activities. As a young man he practiced the profession of an engineer and was particularly interested in the mineral wealth of his native state. Among the many important studies made in this field is his three-volume monograph entitled *As Minas do Brasil e sua Legislação* (1904-1905). His interest soon gravitated to politics. First as state deputy and later as federal congressman he proved a hard-working and devoted public servant. Financial problems possessed a special

fascination for him. In 1910 he wrote *La politique monétaire du Brésil*, still the standard work on the subject. In 1914, President Wenceslau Braz appointed him minister of agriculture, a post which he soon gave up for the portfolio of finance. He was a member of the Brazilian delegation at the Paris peace conference and on the election to the presidency of Dr. Epistacio Pessôa was appointed minister of war. Since then, he had withdrawn somewhat from public life although he was a representative of Minas Geraes in the Constituent Assembly when stricken with his fatal illness. Though a statesman of real parts Dr. Calogeras will be chiefly remembered by posterity as an historian. He was particularly attracted to diplomatic history and his massive two-volume work entitled *A politica exterior do Imperio* (1927-1928) will long remain one of the best works we have on the subject. His admiration for Dom João and the two Brazilian emperors was tempered by a rather critical spirit. When discussing the Platine Wars, for instance, he does full justice to Artigas and even to Rosas. Among his other works of an historical or semi-historical character may be mentioned *Problemas de Governo* (1928), *Res Nostra* (1930), and *O Marquez de Barbacena* (1932). Dr. Calogeras was a warm friend of the United States. He took a special interest in the work of the Escola de Estudos Brasileiros and when this institution organized in 1929 a summer school for North-Americans he offered a series of notable lectures which were subsequently published under the title of *Formação Histórica do Brasil*. Because of its comprehensiveness and general excellence this work has been chosen to appear in translation in the "Inter American Historical Series".—P. A. M.

The American Council of Learned Societies offers in 1935 grants in aid of research and post-doctoral fellowships for training and research in the humanities. The grants are in two categories: small grants, not exceeding \$300, and larger grants, not exceeding \$1,000. Applicants for grants must possess the doctorate or its equivalent, and must be actually in need of the desired assistance and unable to secure it from other sources. The grants are made for specific purposes (other than living expenses or in lieu of salary), such as travel, photostats, secretarial assistance, etc., in connection with projects of research actually under way. The fellowships have a basic stipend of \$1,800, to which allowances for travel, expenses of research, and other

purposes may be added. Applicants must have the doctorate, must not be more than 35 years of age, and must have demonstrated unmistakable aptitude for constructive research. Information respecting grants and fellowships, as well as application blanks, may be secured from the American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C. All applications must be filed by December 15, 1934, and awards will be announced in March, 1935.

The Junta de Educação Nacional was specially created by the Portuguese Government in January, 1929 (the decree—No. 16,381—being published in the *Diário de Governo*, January 16 of that year) as a department of the Portuguese ministry of education. The purpose of the new organization is

1. The organization on a sound and up-to-date basis of scientific and artistic studies in Portugal.
2. Improvement of teaching methods in all departments of public education.
3. Preparation and adequate training of a proper technical and professional staff for systematic research and the utilization of national economic resources.
4. Promotion abroad of the study of the Portuguese language, literature, and culture, and the promotion of exchanges of professional experience on an international scale.

The Junta awards fellowships to scientists, artists, professional men, and others, for study and training abroad and special study in Portugal, and makes grants for the support of Portuguese scientific and artistic institutions, learned societies, and their publications; and for the promotion of exchanges with other countries. Fellowships are also granted on the understanding that on the completion of training, fellows shall be appointed to important positions in their field. All fellows are expected to submit to the junta on the expiration of the period of their study, or periodically, if desired, detailed reports covering their activities. The junta is composed of 25 members, who are university professors, lecturers, outstanding scientists, engineers, artists, and other professional men. As a general assembly the junta holds meetings, either periodical or called, to discuss matters pertaining to the business of the junta. By a secret ballot, six members are elected who, together with the members residing at Coimbra and Oporto, constitute a managing board. The funds so far have been mostly appropriated by the Portuguese Government, but the junta is authorized to accept gifts, bequests, and donations. The Rockefeller

Foundation has made certain awards for the support of fellowships; and similar coöperation is being planned with the Mayo Foundation and with German and French foundations of a similar character. This organization should be productive of much good.

The Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias, recently formed in Spain, has begun the publication of a review devoted to scientific information, entitled *Las Ciencias*. The section devoted to history is under the direction of the wellknown Spanish historian, Professor Rafael Altamira y Crevea. In this section an effort will be made to give the most complete information relative to North American Historical Bibliography. Under the directorship of a historian of the competence of Dr. Altamira, the historical section of the new review can not fail of success. It is seldom realized except by those who work with bibliographical material how important bibliography is as a peace agent.

Somewhat over a year ago, a Washington section of the Instituto de las Españas was established at the Spanish Embassy by a group representing the Instituto in New York, and all of the interested local bodies, including the Pan American Union, the three universities (George Washington, Catholic, and Georgetown); the Library of Congress; and others. The moving spirits were Professor Onís who heads the parent body in New York, and the then Spanish Ambassador, Señor Don Juan Francisco de Cárdenas, now Spanish ambassador to Paris. The present active and associate paid-up membership is now 118; but the widespread public interest in Hispanic and Hispanic-American culture has brought hundreds of inquiries for membership that augur a real future for the section. In structure, the section differs radically from any other body in the national capital. It consists of twenty-three honorary presidents, who include the ambassador and ministers of all the Hispanic-American countries, the minister of Portugal, the Spanish ambassador, and the director of the Pan American Union. Next in rank comes the council which functions as the supervising and advisory body, under whose direction the executive committee carries out the active program each year, working in conjunction with the parent body in New York.

During the year, a carefully drawn set of *Reglamentos* corresponding to a constitution, and another of *Estatutos* or by-laws

were adopted. The objects of the organization are "to promote a broader and more active interest in the language, literature, art, science of Hispanic civilizations, and to foster the cultural relations between the United States and the Hispanic countries."

With the departure of Ambassador Cárdenas for his new post and the appointment of Señor Don Luis Calderón as his successor in Washington, the latter also became one of the guiding spirits of the group. The officers for the year 1934-1935 are: president of the council, Mr. Arthur Stanley Riggs; director and head of the executive committee, the minister of Panama, Señor Dr. Don Ricardo J. Alfaro; assistant directors, Señora Concha Romero James, and the Rev. Dr. David Rubio; secretary, Señorita Ana María Sherwell; treasurer, Señor Don Tomaso Alberto Mateos. The publicity and press relations are in charge of Mr. Riggs.

During the past season a number of notable addresses were delivered before the Instituto and its guests by speakers representing various phases of Hispanic and Hispanic-American culture, among the speakers being Professor Onís of Columbia University, Professor Tarr of Princeton University, the minister of Ecuador, Don Gonzalo Zaldumbide, the Argentine painter, Don Bernaldo Cesáreo de Quiros, and Mrs. Truxton Beale. During the summer the activities of the section were limited largely to arranging a program for the coming year, and to stimulating interest among high school students and others by announcing a new series of medals and prizes to be awarded for the best essays submitted in competition on Spanish-American themes.

Applications for membership may be made to the treasurer, Señor Mateos, whose address is 2700, Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., or to any of the officers above mentioned. Coöperating membership is \$25.00 a year; active membership, \$5.00, and associate membership, \$2.00. Anyone interested in Hispano culture is eligible. —ARTHUR STANLEY RIGGS.

The University of Pittsburgh held its fifth annual history conference on Saturday, March 17, 1934. The conference was devoted to "The larger concept of American history". At the morning session, papers were read by Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven on "The History of America: Its Scope and Significance"; Mr. Robert Park, on "The History of the Americas in Colleges"; and by Mr. Charles M. John-

son, on "The History of Hispanic-America in Teachers Colleges". At the afternoon session, papers were presented by Mr. George W. Burkholder, on "Common Problems in the History of America"; and by Mr. William J. Martin, on "Correlation between the History of the United States and the History of Hispanic-America".

The Institute of Public Affairs held its sessions from July 1-14 at the University of Virginia. Part of the first week was devoted to Hispanic American Affairs, this section, under the title of "The Good Neighbor Policy with Latin America" being under the leadership of Dr. Dana G. Munro, former U. S. minister to Haiti, and now in Princeton University. Those scheduled to take part in the deliberations were as follows: July 2: Introductory Session—Dr. Carlos G. Dávila, former ambassador of Chile; and Mr. Paul V. Shaw, of Columbia University. July 3: "Trade Barriers"—Drs. Robert L. O'Brien, chairman, U. S. Tariff Commission; and G. Butler Sherwell, Manufacturers Trust Co., New York. July 4: "American Loans and Investments"—Mr. Fred Levis, former president, International Railways of Central America, of New York; and Dr. Herbert Feis, office of the secretary of state. July 5: "The Settlement of the International Disputes in Latin America"—Mr. Francis White, former assistant secretary of state. July 6: Caribbean Problems"—Dr. Ricardo J. Alfaro, minister of Panama; and Mr. William R. Castle, Jr., formerly under secretary of state. July 7: "The Montevideo Conference"—Dr. Samuel Guy Inman, executive secretary, committee on coöperation in Latin America.

Two important historical congresses have recently been held in South America. In October, 1933, assembled in Buenos Aires the 4th "Congreso de Historia Nacional y Americana". Aside from the papers presented, some of which will eventually appear in book form, the following resolutions were adopted at the closing session of October 19:

Ratificar las resoluciones de los congresos de historia realizados en 1916, 1924 y 1929, en el sentido de suprimir en los textos de enseñanza de historia todo lo que pueda herir la dignidad de las naciones americanas; ratificar el voto anterior por el cual los gobiernos de los países americanos establezcan en las bibliotecas nacionales la comprobación clasificada de la bibliografía de los demás países y solicitar que publiquen en índices por épocas la relación de los documentos que

guardan los archivos; declarar la conveniencia de que los gobiernos que no lo hayan hecho, dicten leyes sobre conservación de todo lo que se considere instrumento histórico.

Finally the Academia Americana de la Historia, to which reference has already been made in the pages of this REVIEW, is empowered to decide on the place and date of the next congress. From December 25th to 28th, 1933, met in Cartagena, Colombia, the "Congreso Hispano-Americano de Historia de Cartagena de Indias", largely through the initiative of a prominent local historian, Don Gabriel Porras Traconís. Some twenty-six institutions were represented, but unfortunately none from the United States. The particular occasion was the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Cartagena. Of the many resolutions adopted by the congress the following may be noted:

Solicitud del Gobierno de Colombia para adquirir el edificio de la Inquisición de Cartagena y lo destine a la Academia de la Historia de esta ciudad;

Adopción de la denominación "Hispano-Americano" en vez de "Latino-Americano" para los países originarios de España;

Sobre creación de la facultad de Ciencias Históricas Hispano-Americanas en todos los países del mismo origen.

Of the many papers presented only one, that of Dr. Lillian Estelle Fisher, of Chickasaw College, Oklahoma, entitled "Intellectual causes of the movement for Mexican independence", was from the United States. The congress memorialized the government of Colombia to hold the next historical congress in the city of Cali, on the occasion of its four hundredth anniversary. Those who desire to receive the printed proceedings of the congress at Cartagena may address the general secretary of the congress, care of Palacio de la Inquisición, Cartagena, Colombia.—P. A. M.

Dr. Max Savelle, of Stanford University, is engaged upon a definitive study of the American aspects of the treaty of Paris of 1763. This study, which will appear in book form in about two years, will put together in one place the story of the negotiations with regard to all the American problems involved in the making of that peace—the northeastern fisheries question, the old question of the Acadian boundary, the cession of Canada and the left bank of the Mississippi to England, the cession of Louisiana to Spain, the cession of Florida to England, and the question of Guadalupe and St. Lucia and the

other West Indies Islands. The monograph will be a synthesis of old and new study upon all these aspects of the peace of Paris, and an attempt to relate these problems to each other and to the general problem of America in the European diplomacy of the eighteenth century.

Philip Ainsworth Means is now at work on "The Spanish Main-Focus of Envy" which will combine a thorough study of the colonial policies of Spain, Portugal, France, England, Scotland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, and of the achievements of each one in the colonial sphere of each, with a careful account of the maritime and military conflicts, whether legitimate warfare or mere corsairing, between them. The period to be covered is from 1492 to 1800. It is expected that the book will be issued in the autumn of 1935. Mr. Means would be glad to have advice and "pointers" from specialists in the French, English, Scottish, Dutch, Swedish, Danish, and Russian colonial fields. His address is Pomfret, Connecticut.

Professor N. Andrew N. Cleven, of the University of Pittsburgh, is working on a series of papers to be entitled "Pennsylvania Diplomats to Hispanic America". The first paper in this series will deal with Henry Marie Brackenridge.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

ITEMS ON VARIOUS AUTHORS AND THEIR PUBLICATIONS

Of some interest to students of Hispanic American history is the news that the *Encyclopédie Française*, whose advent has long been awaited in the learned world, is to publish its first *fascicule* during the year 1935. The work will be composed of 20 volumes of which 9 will be devoted to "Connaissances et interprétations", 9 to "Technique et réalisations", and 2 to "Conclusions et tables". The committee in charge is presided over by M. de Monzie, former minister of education; its secretary general is M. Lucien Febvre, professor of history and modern civilization at the Collège de France, and its director of administrative services is M. Pierre Tissier, an auditor of the council of state. Its headquarters are 13, Rue du Four, Paris, and the subscription price will be around 2,000 francs. As the last really scholarly and scientific French encyclopedia, *La grande Encyclopédie*, was published between 1886 and 1902, the utility of this new work is clear. It is anticipated that there will be much material on Hispanic America.

A Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, which has been publishing a *Boletim* since 1877, has naturally concerned itself with Portuguese explorations in America and more particularly in Brazil. At the present time the *Boletim* is published at least three times a year. Among the important articles appearing for 1933 may be mentioned "A Sociedade Luso Africana do Rio de Janeiro", by J. R. Costa, Junior; "Fenícios e Portugueses. O Periplo da Africa", by Domingos Pepulim; "Notas à margem sobre a descoberta do Brasil", by João de Almeida; "Gaspar Corte Real", by Admiral Gago Coutinho. The president of the Society is Sr. José Capelo Franco Frazão (Conde de Penha Garcia), and its headquarters are Rua Eugenio dos Santos, Lisbon.

In the year 1933 was published in Lisbon the first volume of a comprehensive bibliography of Portugal's greatest historian: *Ale-*

xande Herculano. A sua Vida e a sua Obra (1810-1877) by Carlo Portugal Ribeiro.

The "Acuerdo de San Nicolás", the famous agreement signed by the leaders of the various Argentine factions after the overthrow of Rosas and repudiated by some, has been made the object of a new study by Sr. Carlos Heras, *La polémica sobre el Acuerdo de San Nicolás* (Buenos Aires, 1934). Thirty-two of the most important articles of the time (of which sixteen have already been published by Dr. Ramón J. Cárcano in his *De Caseros al 11 de Setiembre*) are indicated by the compiler. They are from the pen of such famous personages as Sarmiento, Mariano Varela, Vélez Sarsfield, Hector Varela, Vicente Fidel López, Valentín Alcina, etc. As Sr. Heras has rigidly abstained from furnishing any commentary, the work may be considered a valuable collection of sources on one of the most difficult periods in Argentine history.

Sr. Rafael Alberto Palomenque, an authority on the diplomatic history of Argentina and one of the founders of the *Revista Americana*, has just published a collection of his essays under the title of *Sarmiento y otros discursos* (La Plata, 1934).

The colonial history of Spanish America has been enriched through the publication by Dr. Enrique de Gandía of *Los Límites de los Gobernaciones en el Siglo XVI* (Buenos Aires, 1934). In successive chapters are studied the limits of the *gobernaciones* of Pizarro, Almagro, Mendoza, Lagasca, Alcabaza, Camarago, La Hoz, Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, Orellana, Valdivia, Irias, etc. Much light is shed on a relatively obscure chapter in the historical geography of the time.

The historical bibliography of Argentina has been added to by the work of Enrique Arana (hijo) entitled *Biobliografía de Pedro de Angeles* (Buenos Aires, 1933) originally published in the *Boletín de la Biblioteca de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales* (Año I, número 5, June, 1933) of which periodical Sr. Arana is editor. The object of this study was a Neopolitan scholar (1784-1859) who was induced to take up his residence in Argentina through the efforts of Rivadavia. During the short-lived presidency of the latter he established *La Crónica Política y Literaria de Buenos Aires*. Later he embarked on a literary career on his own account, publishing books,

editing newspapers and periodicals, and in general taking an active part in the intellectual life of his time. As one of the few intellectuals who were willing to place their services at the disposal of Rosas he was of inestimable service to the dictator in his quarrels with the European powers over the free navigation of the Parana River. His most important work, however, was his *Colección de Obras y Documentos relativa a la Historia del Río de la Plata*, which Sarmiento declared in 1851 to be "el monumento nacional más gloriosa que pueda honrar a un estado americano". Sr. Arara has not only given a full description of the works of Angeles but has rescued from partial oblivion one of the most important and colorful figures of the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

The wave of revolutions which swept over Hispanic America in 1930 and the years immediately following has been the object of a penetrating analysis by the eminent Argentine sociologist Alfredo Colmo in his latest book, *La Revolución en la América Latina* (2nd edition, Buenos Aires, M. Gleizer, 1933). The point of departure for Dr. Colmo's study is the Argentine revolution of 1930, and more than half the book is devoted to the cause and effects of this movement. The scope of the book is indicated by the following chapter headings: Una revolución típica; Causas de la revolución; La obra política del gobierno revolucionario; La obra económico-financiera del gobierno revolucionario; La obra administrativa del gobierno revolucionario; Caracteres del gobierno revolucionario; Consecuencias del gobierno revolucionario; La revolución militarista ante los principios; La revolución militarista en la historia; La revolución cabal en la historia; and Juicio sobre la revolución. In addition to an immense number of articles, Dr. Colmo has written nearly a dozen books dealing with sociological and legal subjects. Of his works perhaps his best known is *América Latina* (1915). He has been the president of the important "Instituto Cultural Norte Americano" since its foundation in 1928.

A most important contribution to the growing literature on Sarmiento has recently been made by Anibal Ponce in his *Sarmiento, Constructor de la Nueva Argentina*, appearing in the series of "Vidas Españolas e Hispano-Americanos del Siglo XIX" published by Espasa-Calpe (Madrid-Barcelona, 1932). This study which stresses particularly the mental and spiritual development of Sarmiento forms an

admirable pendant to the older *Vida de Sarmiento* by the Chilean writer, Guerra. Sr. Ponce is a psychologist of distinction and is professor in the Colegio Libre de Estudios Superiores of Buenos Aires. His biography of Sarmiento is not his first excursion into the historical and literary fields. Several years ago he published a series of penetrating studies on a number of noted Argentines whose major activities fell in the seventies and eighties of the last century. The title of the book, *La Vejez de Sarmiento*, gives no real clue to its contents. The major portion of the work deals with Amadeo Jacques, a French exile who became a famous professor of science in Buenos Aires; President Nicolas Avellaneda (an admirable biography of a man insufficiently known outside of Argentina); and the writers Lucio Mansilla, Eduardo Wilde, Lucio V. López, and Miguel Cané.

The indefatigable president of the University of La Plata, Dr. Ricardo Levene, has augmented the historical literature of Argentina with another monograph entitled *Iniciación de la Vida pública de Rosas* (La Plata, 1934). In this work he has made a careful study of the activity of Rosas prior to 1829, particularly his relations with Santa Fé, and has cleared up a number of moot points in the life of the Argentine caudillo. This monograph, buttressed by an abundant documentation, appears also in the second volume of *Los Acuerdos de la Junta de Representantes de la Provincia de Buenos Aires*, an important series now in course of publication.

New light has been shed on the diplomatic activities of Bernardino Rivadavia by the Argentine writer Mario Belgrano in his latest book, *Rivadavia y sus gestiones diplomáticas con España, 1815-1820* (Buenos Aires, 1933). The author maintains the thesis that Rivadavia's conduct at Madrid, far from being weak and hesitating, was skilfully designed to be of the maximum advantage to the revolutionary government at Buenos Aires. Other works of Sr. Belgrano, dealing more or less with the same period are *Napoleón et l'Argentine; la Mission de Sassenay* (Paris, 1925); *Belgrano* (Buenos Aires, 1927); *L'Invasion des Anglais en Argentine en 1808 et 1807* (Paris, 1928); *La Francia y la Monarquía en el Plata, 1818-1820* (Buenos Aires, 1933).

The erudite ecclesiastical writer of Cordoba, Father Pablo Cabrera has added to his long list of works on Argentine history *La conquista espiritual del Desierto* (Cordoba, 1933).

The latest book of the prolific Argentine writer, Juan Pablo Echague, is *Paisajes y Figuras de San Juan* (Buenos Aires, 1933), a collection of essays dealing with various aspects both historical and literary of his native province. Three of the studies deal with hitherto little known aspects of the life and activities of Sarmiento, who it will be recalled was a native of San Juan.

In an article entitled "Estudio General Estadística de la producción intelectual Argentina en 1932", published in the July (1933) number of the *Boletín de la Biblioteca de la Facultad de Derecho y Ciencias Sociales de la Universidad Nacional de Buenos Aires* it appears that in 1932 the total number of new works deposited according to law in the Biblioteca Nacional was 1359; figures for preceding years were: 1929, 580 works; 1930, 749 works; 1931, 809 works.

The well-known two volume *Lecciones de Historia* by Dr. Ricardo Levene, president of the University of La Plata, appeared in its fourteenth edition in 1932. It was accompanied by a "Juicio crítico" by Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois.

During the course of the last two decades the University of La Plata has bulked increasingly large in the intellectual and cultural life of Argentina. Its publications have won recognition both at home and abroad; especially is this true of *Humanidades*, which has frequently been referred to in the pages of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Among the lesser-known publications should be noted the *Boletín de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata*, issued bi-monthly. Though the contents of this magazine naturally embrace every field of the University's activities history is accorded full recognition. In the numbers covering the year 1933 may be noted a lecture by the eminent Dominican scholar Pedro Henríquez Ureña, "Raza y Cultura hispánica", (Num. 2), and the following articles of a monographic character: "Evolución del régimen y del significado político de las Audiencias indianas", by Professor Luis Aznar; "El acta de la fundación de La Plata", by Professor Antonino Salvadores; and "Valoración crítica de la obra de Ramón J. Cárcano, De Caseros al once de setiembre". These articles are based on lectures given under the auspices of the "Centro de estudios históricos", and appeared in Num. 5 of the *Boletín* for 1933.

A complete list of the works of the late Argentine historian and critic, Ernesto Quesada, is published by Dr. Herman B. Hagen and Dr. Hedda Oelke in vol. VII, no. 2 of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* (July, 1933). It is also issued as a reprint (Berlin, Ferd. Dümmlers Verlag). The full title is "Bibliographie der Schriften Ernesto Quesada's". Dr. Hagen is head of the Mexican section of the *Ibero-Amerikanisches Archiv* and is one of the most eminent Hispanists in Germany.

The Argentine historian and critic, Dr. Carlos Ibarguren, has from time to time published articles for the press on historical themes. He has had the happy idea of assembling the most significant of these in a volume called *En la Penumbra de la Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Juan Roldán y Cía., 1933). The importance of this series of essays is indicated by the titles of a number of them: "La amargura del General San Martín"; "El voto secreto hace dos mil años en Roma, y más de un siglo en Buenos Aires"; "Entre bastidores del Congreso de Tucumán"; "La tragedia de los prisioneros de Maipú"; "La misión de Aguirre a los Estados Unidos"; "Confidencias del Presidente Monroe al General Alvear"; "Buenos Aires romántico de 1830"; "Preliminares de la organización nacional. Mitre y las Provincias del norte". So important are the "confidences" which President Monroe accorded to General Alvear that it is hoped to reproduce a portion of this article in the HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. Dr. Ibarguren has a number of historical works to his credit of which the most important is *Juan Manuel de Rosas, su Vida, su Tiempo, su Drama* (1930).

One of the ablest presentations of Bolivia's case in the unhappy Chaco controversy is that of the Bolivian professor and diplomat Ricardo Mujía entitled *El Chaco: Monografía Histórico-Geográfica y los Alegatos de los Paraguayos* (Sucre, Imprenta "La Glorieta", 1933).

Bolivia's foremost historian, Sr. Alcides Argüedas, after a silence of eight years, has two books in the press, both of which are announced for publication late in 1934. They are the third edition of *Pueblo enfermo* (La Paz, Viuda de Luis Tasso), and *La Danza de las Sombras* (Barcelona). Sr. Argüedas will be remembered not only for his

classic *Histoire générale de Bolivie* (Paris, 1923) but also for *La Fundación de la República* (Madrid, 1921), *Los Caudillos Letrados* (Barcelona, 1923), *La Plebe en Acción* (Barcelona, 1923), *Raza de Bronce* (Valencia, 1924) and *La Dictadura y la Anarquía* (Barcelona, 1926). Sr. Argüedas is no longer in the diplomatic service of his country but is living as a private citizen at Couilly (Seine et Marne), France.

One of the few periodicals published in English in the United States dealing with Hispanic America that has not succumbed to the depression is *Bolivia*, published by-monthly in New York. It is subsidized partly by the Bolivian government and is devoted to the industry, commerce, banking, travel, and statistics of Bolivia. Recent numbers have naturally paid a great deal of attention to the unfortunate war in the Chaco. The number for March-April (1934), for instance, in addition to the editorial matter, contains a long article on "The Chaco Question: an exposition for the college students of America", by the Bolivian minister at Washington, Hon. Enrique Finot; "In homage to Bolivia", by the Peruvian writer Jorge M. Corbacho; "Who is responsible for the war", by Miguel Mercado Moreira; and reprints of important articles dealing with South America appearing in the *Washington Star*, and *El Comercio* of Cuzco. There is also a section devoted to book reviews. The editorial office of *Bolivia* is 90 Broad St., New York City.

Sr. Hildebrando Accioly, Counsellor of the Brazilian Embassy in Washington and sometime first secretary of the Brazilian delegation at Geneva, has just published the first volume of his *Tratado de Dereito Internacional Publico* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1933). This is not only an excellent treatise on international law in general but it is especially full on questions relating to Hispanic America. In discussing such matters as the rights and duties of states, the individual in international relations, extraditions, etc., illustrations are drawn, whenever pertinent, from Hispanic American history. The work is especially complete as regards critical apparatus and bibliography. The publication of the two remaining volumes is promised for the latter part of 1934. Among the other books of Sr. Accioly may be mentioned *Actos Internacionales Vigentes no Brazil* (1927) and *O Reconhecimento da Independencia do Brazil* (1927).

On April 12, 1934 there died one of Brazil's foremost historians, Dr. João Ribeiro, a member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters. His well-known *Historia do Brasil* is the standard text used in the secondary schools of Brazil and has passed through many editions.

Those interested in Japanese immigration to Brazil will find much food for thought in the work by Alexander Kinder and Calino Filho with the title of *Factos e Opiniões sobre a Imigração Japonesa* (Rio de Janeiro, Borsoi e Cia, 1934). Some of the chapter headings are significant: "Escolas primarias existentes nas colonias japonezas", "Profissões exercidas pelos japonezes em S. Paulo", "Contribuição dos japonezes para o melhoramento da produção agricola do Brasil", "Collegio Catholico Japonez", "O catholicismo entre os japonezes", "O japonex no Pará", and "O esforço nipponico no extremo-norte do Brasil".

The *Boletim do Ministerio da Agricultura* (Anno 22, Janeiro-Dezembro, 1933) (Rio de Janeiro, Directoria de Estadistica e Publicidade, 1934) contains a good deal of historical material including, for the year in question: "Legislação", "Estadistica do ouro", "O Communismo e os Governos da Republica", and "Notas e comentarios".

The foundation of Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul is delightfully described by General Borges Fortes in his monograph entitled *O Brigadeiro José da Silva Paes e a Fundação do Rio Grande* (Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo, 1933).

The last days of colonial Brazil is evoked by the interesting book of Rocha Martina, *O Ultimo Vice-Rei do Brasil* (Lisboa, Officinas Graficas do "A.B.C.", 1933). The work is really a history of the life and times of Dom Marcos de Noronha e Brito, the eighth Conde dos Arcos.

The subject of slavery and abolition in Brazil is of perennial interest. The latest work to appear on this subject is that of Dr. Evaristo de Maraes entitled *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil (das Origens a Extinção)* appearing in vol. XIII of the excellent series "Brasileira" of the Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira (São Paulo,

Companhia Editorial Nacional, 1933). The three major divisions or parts of the work are as follows: Parte I—O Traffico; Part II—A lei do Ventre livre; Parte III—A Abolição. Dr. Evaristo de Maraes is a notable lawyer and writer who will be remembered as the author of a valuable monograph entitled “A Escravidao da Suppressão do Traffico a Lei Aurea” in the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, III. 245 ff. (1927).

The thorny topic of Brazil's southern boundaries is adequately treated in an excellent work by Dr. Affonso Varzea, under the title of *Limites Meridionaes—As Fronteiras com o Uruguay, Argentina e Paraguay, debaixo do Punto da Vista da Geographia social* (Rio de Janeiro, Alba, 1933). In dealing with the Uruguayan frontier the author goes back to the treaties of Tordesilhas, Madrid, and San Ildefonso.

Senhora Maria Junqueira Schmidt has just published an interesting monograph entitled *Princesa Maria da Gloria* (Rio de Janeiro, F. Briguet, 1934) in which a great deal of interesting historical information is given regarding Dom Pedro I. (the father of Maria da Gloria) and Dom Miguel.

The Brazilian critic, Manoel Gahisto, has for a number of years carried out his self-appointed task of interpreting the literary history of the Hispanic American peoples to the French reading public. His latest work *Figures Sud-Américaines* (Paris, 1933) deals especially with the Venezuelan publicist and historian, Blanco Fombona, the Argentine novelist, Manuel Gálvez, and the Brazilian poet, Castro Alves.

The most important work yet to appear on the Brazilian revolution of 1930 is *A verdade sobre a Revolução do Outubro* by the editor in chief of the *Jornal do Brasil*, Barbosa Lima Sobrinho (Rio de Janeiro, 1933). The book is not merely a clever piece of reporting but a penetrating study of the motives which led to the only successful revolution in the history of the Republic of Brazil. In describing the events themselves the author displays an objectivity and impartiality rarely found in works of this type.

In 1927, was organized the "Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu" for the purpose of rendering homage to the memory of this illustrious historian who had died earlier in the same year. The library and archives of the deceased were placed by his heirs at the disposal of the Society. A comprehensive plan of publication was adopted the first results of which was the appearance in 1928 of the important *Capitulos de Historia Colonial, 1500-1800*, a reprint with notes by Dr. John Caspar Branner and Dr. Philipp von Leutzelburg of a work published in an edition of 200 copies in 1907 under the title of *O Brasil, suas Riquezas naturaes, suas Industrias*. The Archives of Capistrano have yielded rich finds which the society is making available under the general title of *Ensaio e Estudos (Critica e Historia)* de J. Capistrano de Abreu, of which the second series was published in Rio de Janeiro by F. Brigueet in 1932. The titles of some of the more important essays in this second series are as follows: "O Duque de Caxias", "A Geographia do Brasil", "Sob o primeiro imperio", "Um visatador do Santo Officio (Confissões da Bahia)", "Fernão Cardom", "A obra de Anchieta no Brasil", and "Prefacio ao *Diario de Padro Lopes*".

Among the Brazilian regional historical reviews two of the most important are the *Revista do Instituto Archeologico Histórico e Geographico Pernambucano* and the *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio Grande do Sul*. The former, founded in 1900, has for its editor in chief the well known Pernambucan historian and archaeologist, Dr. Mario Melo. The general scope of the journal is indicated by a reference to the contents of vol. XXI, for 1931, but published in 1933. Dr. Melo contributes a long article to Frei Caneca, without question the most brilliant figure in Pernambuco during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. Other articles of importance are "Os Pelourinhos de Recife", by Dr. Melo, "A Forteleza 'Principe Guilherme' ou dos Afogados" (a study of a phase of the Dutch occupation) by Naasson Figueredo, "Um Aspecto da Monarchia" (conditions in Northern Brazil under the empire) by Luis Delgado, "Marinheiros de outrora" (the period of Lord Cochrane), by Velho Sofrinho. The *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geographico do Rio Grande do Sul*, established in 1920, includes within its survey not only the southernmost state of Brazil but the neighboring areas of Uruguay and Argentina. Among the important articles for 1933 are "A

Missão Ponsonby e a Independência do Uruguai" [sic], by E. F. de Souza Docca, "Pinheiro Machado" (a study of the great republican *caudilho*), by J. Santos Lima, "O Conde de Porto Alegre", by Leopoldo de Freitas, "A Batalha de Ituzaingo" by Lieut. Henrique Oscar Wiederspahn. The secretary of the Instituto, under whose auspices the review is published, is Dr. Eduardo Duarte, Rua Duque de Caxias, 1231, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul.

The eminent Brazilian jurist and internationalist, Dr. Rodrigo Octavio de Laangard Menezes began the publication of a second enlarged edition of his memoirs in the *Jornal do Commercio* for December 31, 1933. These memoirs, which were originally published under the title of *Coração Aberto*, will eventually appear in book form and will contain some extremely valuable sidelights on the history of Brazil under the republic.

A terrific indictment of United States "Imperialism" in Central America is given by Vicente Sáenz in *Rompiendo Cadenas. Las de imperialismo norteamericano en Centroamérica* (Mexico, "Cidade", 1933). Sr. Sáenz is an old hand at this form of polemical writing. He already has to his credit *Traidores y Déspotas de Centroamérica*, *Cartas a Morazán*, *Norteamericanización de Centroamérica*, *Actitud del Gobierno de Washington hacia las Repúblicas Centroamericanas*, etc. This last work is published in Mexico City under the auspices of the Confederación Hispanoamericana de Estudiantes.

An interesting, though somewhat prejudiced work on the late Sandino by the Spaniard Ramón de Belausteguigoitia has been issued by the firm of Espasa Calpe of Madrid (1934) with the title of *Con Sandino en Nicaragua*.

A monthly review, which deserves wider circulation among students of Hispanic American history and literature, is the *Atenea*, a magazine issued by the University of Concepción, Chile, and now in its eleventh year. The number for December, 1933—to take but a single instance—contains the following articles of historical interest: "Barros Arana y el método analítico en la historia", by Guillermo Feliú C.; "Las tiranías según Sarmiento", by Sady Zañartu; "El horizonte político", by Oswald Spengler; "La Condesa de Noailles recordada a

grandes y pequeños rasgos", by Eugenio Labarca; and "El problema de la cultura en Latino América", by Arturo Piga. The chairman of the editorial committee is the erudite rector of the University of Concepción, Dr. Enrique Molina, whose visit to the United States a number of years ago resulted in the publication of a number of works, notably, *De California a Harvard, Estudio sobre las Universidades Norteamericanas y algunos problemas nuestros* (Santiago, 1921).

Not the least important results of the passing of the dictatorship of Machado has been the reopening and reorganization of the venerable University of Habana which in 1928 completed its bi-centenary. A new department has been added, that of "Intercambio Universitario", and one of the first fruits of its activities has been the founding of a new bimonthly literary and historical review entitled *Universidad de la Habana*. Volume I, number 1 (January-February, 1934) of this well printed and scholarly review contains *inter alia* the following articles of historical importance: "Primer centenario del natalicio de Finlay", by the director of the review, Professor José A. Presno Bastiony, "Las Concepciones geniales de Bolívar", by José Pérez Cubillas, and "La Docencia secundaria en México", by Manuel Ruiz Miyar. Under the caption "Vida Universitaria", are to be found the decree, signed by Dr. Grau San Martín, for the reorganization of the University, a description of the "Casa de Cuba" in Paris, an account of the Faculty of Social Sciences in which history is accorded a prominent place, and other items. The board of editors include some of the most outstanding members of the faculty of the University. All information regarding this excellent new publication, whose subscription price is \$2.50 a year, should be addressed to the director of the "Departamento de Intercambio Universitario", Universidad de la Habana.

On November 19, 1933, died the greatest of the Cuban intellectuals, José Varona. The entire number of the periodical *Universidad de la Habana* for March-April 1934 (Vol. I, no. 2) is devoted to his memory. There are articles on José Varona entitled "La personalidad de Enrique José Varona", by Juan Marinello; "Varona en nuestra hora", by Raúl Roa; "La significación de Varona en nuestra cultura", by Medardo Vitier; "Una vida paralela", by Salvador Salazar; "La pedagogía del Doctor Varona", by Alfredo M. Aguayo; "El

pensamiento ético de Varona", by Roberto Agramonte; "El sentido de Varona en el pensamiento cubano", by Antonio S. de Bustamante y Montoro; "Homenaje de los poetas cubanos a Enrique José Varona", by Eugenio Florit, Emilio Ballagas, and Manuel Navarro Luna; "La muerte de Varona", by Fermín Peraza y Sarauza.

Dr. George Mañach, one of the ablest living Cuban critics, and minister of public instruction, has been selected as editor of the *Edición nacional de las Obras de Varona*. The choice of editor could not have been a more happy one. Dr. Mañach, formerly a graduate student of Harvard University (Phi Beta Kappa, 1921), is a lawyer, journalist, and educationalist. Among his works may be mentioned *Glosario* (1924), *La Pintura en Cuba desde sus Orígenes hasta nuestros Días* (1925), *La Crisis de la alta Cultura en Cuba* (1925), *Estampas de San Cristóbal* (1926), *Tiempo muerto* (1928), and above all his excellent biography called *Martí, el Apóstol* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1933).

The Cuban critic, Fermín Peraza y Sarauza, is preparing a complete bibliography of the works of José Varona. A reference to this important compilation will be given in a later number of the *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

The Academia de la Historia de Cuba has obtained from Sr. Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda, the owner, the larger portion of the unedited papers of José Martí and proposes to publish this material which will presumably shed a flood of new light on the activities of this great hero of Cuban independence. The first instalment has already appeared under the title of *Epistolario de José Martí y Máximo Gómez*. Recopilación, Introducción, Notas y Apéndice por Gonzalo de Quesada y Miranda (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1933). The letters in question, some of which are of considerable length, cover the years 1877-1895. Their importance to all students of Cuban history for these years needs no stressing.

Despite the fact that Ecuador has produced a number of historians of distinction such as Suárez and Destrugge, whose works are known far beyond the confines of their country, there remains a dearth of good manuals embracing Ecuadorean history from the earliest times

to the present day. This need has been met in part by the two volume work of Sr. Emilio Uzgategui *Historia del Ecuador* (Quito, 1929-1932). Though designed for secondary instruction its comprehensiveness and excellent organization will commend it to more mature students. The scope of the work is indicated by the following divisions: "Los Orígenes"; "Los Incas"; "El Descubrimiento"; "La Conquista"; "La Colonia"; "Estado General de la Colonia"; "La Independencia"; "La Gran Colombia"; "La República: Su formación, Su consolidación, El Liberalismo"; and "Estado actual de la República del Ecuador y sus principales problemas". The narration is brought up to the year 1929.

Crónicas del Guayaquil antiguo (Guayaquil, Imprenta y Talleres Municipales, 1930) is the title of a work by the well-known Ecuadorean man of letters and historian, Dr. Modesto Chávez Franco. Humor, imagination, and laborious historical spade work are combined in the production of this book which evokes with rare charm the colorful history of the chief seaport of Ecuador. In its general scope and character the work will remind the reader of the *Tradiciones Peruanas* of Ricardo Palma.

The distinguished Mexican intellectual, Lic. José Vasconcelos, has left Europe for a protracted sojourn in Argentina where he will continue his literary and historical labors. During the course of 1934 he will give a number of lectures in the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of La Plata, which will later appear in print. Summaries in the form of "Audiciones Radiotelefónicas" were published in the *Boletín de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata* (Año 1933, Num. 3) with the following titles: "Hispano-américa ante el nacionalismo agresivo de Europa y América", "La revolución y sus errores, La reacción y sus peligros", and "Ideas para construir un nacionalismo progresivo hispano-americano". Sr. Vasconcelos's address is Ferrari 397, Androque, Provincia de Buenos Aires.

In the January, 1934, number of *El Libro y el Pueblo*, that most useful monthly issued by the Mexican secretariat of Public Instruction, appears a valuable and amazingly comprehensive *Bibliografía Mexicana de 1933*, by Sr. Rafael Heliodoro Valle. The works are classified under documents, monographs, biographies, books dealing

with Mexico published outside the country, belles-lettres, fine arts, economics, law, politics, miscellaneous.

The Mexican writer Lic. Alfonso Teja Zabre is the author of a *Breve Historia de México* (Mexico, 1934), an elementary text intended for the use of the "Escuelas Rurales". Its chief interest lies in the fact that it reflects the ideology of the present régime in Mexico and as such may be regarded as a piece of revolutionary propaganda. It carries the story up through the Carranza régime.

During the year 1933 two new studies on the indigenous races of America appeared from the pen of the Mexican writer and anthropologist, Dr. Moises Sáenz, namely *Sobre el Indio Peruano y su Incorporación al Medio nacional*, and *Sobre el Indio Ecuatoriano y su Incorporación al Medio nacional*. Both were issued under the auspices of the secretariat of Public Instruction in Mexico.

As already noted the Mexican weekly *Todo*, published by the eminent Mexican engineer and former newspaper man Felix F. Palavicini (Bucareli 12, Mexico, D. F.) continues to publish articles of historical interest. In the number for April 24, 1934, for instance, are articles by L. F. Bustamente, entitled "La Invasión de Veracruz el 21 de Abril de 1914", by Lic. Eugenio Méndez, "Santa Anna, el anormal", by Armando de Maria y Campos, "La Mujer que amó Bolívar y las que lo amaron a él", and by the well known historian, J. Galindo y Villa, "La Fundación de Tenochitlan". The articles by Señores Méndez and Galindo are continued and presumably will appear later in book form. Sr. Galindo has reached the conclusion that Tenochitlan, the present Mexico City was founded in 1323. The date is by no means certain. Father Durán gives 1318, Fray de Mendieta, 1324, Ixtlilxóchitl, between 1140 and 1220, Torquemada, 1341, Enrique Martínez, 1357, Sigüenza y Góngara, 1327, and Clavigero, 1325.

Dr. Fernando Ocaranza is a physician by profession and an historian by avocation. During recent years all of the time which he could steal from his extensive practice in Mexico City and his duties as Director of the Faculty of Medicine has been devoted to Franciscan studies. The results of these devoted labors have just appeared in the shape of two books, *Capítulos de Historia Franciscana*, Primera

Série (Mexico, 1933) and *Los Franciscanos en las Provincias Internas de Sonora y Ostimuri* (Mexico, 1933). The first of these works is really a collection of partially digested historical materials, sometimes in the form of original documents, generally in the shape of summaries of printed works or manuscripts existing in the Biblioteca Nacional. A few chapter headings will reveal its character: Los primeros frailes que llegaron a las Indias Occidentales y los primeros tiempos del franciscanismo en la Nueva España; Hernán Cortés juzgado por los frailes franciscanos; and Los comisarios generales en el siglo XVII. Unfortunately the writer rarely states the exact location of any of the documents on which his account is based. The second work, much smaller in compass, is an account in the shape of loosely connected essays of the northern expansion of the Franciscans during the eighteenth century. Here again the work suffers from lack of critical apparatus. Yet, despite these inadequacies, the two books will be of real use to students of the activities of the Franciscan Order in New Spain.

A new chapter in the history of the relations between Hispanic America and the League of Nations has just been written by the Panamanian statesman and diplomat Narciso Garay in his *Año y Medio en Ginebra* (Panama, Imprenta Nacional, 1934). In the fall of 1931 came to Panamá the honor of election to the council of the League of Nations in the person of its minister to France and Great Britain, Dr. Narciso Garay. The book which he has just written not only sets forth in detail the share which Panamá had in deciding on the various matters which came before the council but also treats of the activities of the league in general. Of particular interest are the chapters entitled El conflicto del Chaco o la cuestión bolivo-paraguaya, and La cuestión del Amazonas e el conflicto colombo-peruano.

Professor J. A. Encinas of the University of Lima is not only one of the foremost educators of Perú but he is also actively interested in furthering the study of Peruvian archaeology. In 1929, he organized the "Biblioteca de Antropología Peruana", of which he has been the director. Thus far, the library has to its credit three volumes, translations of the articles originally published by the German scholar, H. Cunow, in *Das Ausland*. The titles of the books are as follows: *El Sistema de Parentesco Peruano y las Comunidades gentilicias de*

los Incas (Paris, Imprenta de "La Livre Libre", 1929); *Las Comunidades de Aldea y de Marca del Perú antiguo* (Lima, 1929), and *La Organización social del Imperio de los Incas* (Lima, Editorial "Librería Peruana, 1933). Professor Encinas is planning to publish in the near future seven translations of the monograph on the civilization of the Incas by Professor H. Trimbom of the University of Bonn.

Dr. Pedro Dávalos y Lissón, the well-known Peruvian historian and journalist, has made a valuable contribution to the recent history of his country through the publication of *Diez Años de Historia Contemporánea del Perú* (Lima, Librería e Imprenta Gil, 1934). The work covers the years 1899-1908 and embraces the presidencies of Pierola, Romaña, Condamo, Serapio Calderón, and José Pardo.

Volume VII of the second edition of the *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*, by Manuel de Mendiburu, under the editorial supervision of Professor Evaristo San Cristoval, made its appearance early in 1934 (Lima, Librería e Imprenta Gil). This last volume extends from "Lila" to "Montoya". A review of the earlier volumes of this invaluable biographical dictionary appeared in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW for May, 1934.

Among the important collections of documents dealing with the great Uruguayan caudillo, Artigas, should be mentioned that by Dr. Hugo D. Barbagelata, *Sobre la Época de Artigas* (Paris, Imprimerie Fernand Michel, 1930). The documents in question are to be found in the archives of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and cover the years 1817 to 1820. For the most part they are taken from the dispatches of the French agent Le Moyne who was sent by the British government on a confidential mission to Buenos Aires in 1818 and from those of the French minister, Maler, accredited to the court at Rio de Janeiro. For reasons that are not clear Sr. Barbagelata had the documents translated into Spanish. Even so they form a welcome addition to the growing material on Artigas. Sr. Barbagelata is well known to all students of Hispanic American history. For many years he has been editor of the French weekly, published in Paris, with the title of *L'Amérique Latine* (now merged into *Le Journal des Nations Américaines*). Among his numerous books perhaps the best known are *L'Influence des Idées Françaises dans la Révolution et dans*

l'Évolution de l'Amérique Espagnole (1917), *Napoléon et l'Amérique Espagnole* (1922), *Jacques de Liniers et la Reconquête de Buenos Aires* (1926), *Artigas y la Revolución Americana* (second edition, 1930).

The Uruguayan critic, Sr. Juan Antonio Zubillaga, has just completed the third volume of his scholarly *Estudios y Opiniones* (Montevideo, 1931-1933). Volume I has for its subheading "Derecho, Historia, Sociología"; volume II, "Obras literarias"; volume III, "La obra de Rodó". Volume IV, now in preparation, will be devoted to "Instituciones y Obras Políticas". In volume I are to be found lengthy reviews of Alcides Argüedas's *Historia general de Bolivia*, Alfredo Colmo's *Política cultural en los Países Latino-Americanos*, Martínez Lamas's *Riqueza y Pobreza del Uruguay*, as well as essays entitled "Soberanía y jurisdicción del Plata", "Juan Carlos Gómez y José Artigas", and "La independencia del Uruguay".

A vivid account of the Chaco War is given by the Uruguayan writer, Justo Pastor Benítez, in his book *Bajo el Signo de Marte. Crónicas de la Guerra del Chaco* (Montevideo, 1934).

Under the curious title of *Ana Carina Rota* (Caracas, Editorial Elite, 1933) J. C. Terrero Monagas, an officer high in the Venezuelan service, has written a valuable work on the Carib Indians and their place in history. The Spanish translation of the title is "nosotros solamente somos" and refers to the battle cry of the Carib warriors. The writer traces the spread of Carib influence through their long voyages which he alleges extended from the Amazon on the south to Florida and Mexico on the north. Among the most intrepid of Bolívar's soldiers were the descendants of these same Caribs.

Cyrus Norman Clark, for many years the Venezuelan representative of the Associated Press, has just published an *apologia* of the dictatorship of General Gómez under the title of *Venezuela under General Juan Vicente Gómez: a review of twenty-five years* (Caracas, Lit. y Tip. del Comercio, 1933).

The January-March (1934) number of the *Boletín* of the Venezuelan National Academy of History (Tomo XVII, no. 65) contains

a number of articles of interest. On the one hundredth anniversary of the death of the *procer* of Venezuelan independence, Pbro. Dr. José Cecilio Ávila, appear two eulogistic articles, one by Monseñor Nicolás E. Navarro and the other by Don Luis Correa, both members of the academy. The Ecuadorean writer, Alejandro Andrade Coello, contributes an article on Bolívar, entitled "Un Precursor de libertad y cultura". A number of important data on "La Guerra de independencia en la Provincia de Cumana", from the archives of Maestro Rafael Acevedo have been furnished by the latter's grandson, Dr. Rafael Acevedo. The unveiling of the celebrated Italian Codazzi's bust is the occasion of a long article on the activity of this Venezuelan by adoption, by Dr. Alfredo Jahn, also a member of the academy. Finally, appears the speech of Don Pedro Emilio Coll on the occasion of his admission to the academy.

Under the title of *Uleuspiegel* (from the famous Flemish novel of Charles de Coster) a new and handsomely printed bi-monthly review has just been launched by the Asociación Belgo-Ibero-Americana with its headquarters in Antwerp. Those chiefly responsible for the venture are the consuls in Antwerp of Mexico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia, and M. Jan Denucé, the erudite municipal archivist and *conservateur* of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography. Although one of the prime objects of the association is to further trade between Belgium and Hispanic America the review is apparently largely to be devoted to cultural developments in Hispanic America. Thus the first number (January, 1934) contains, among other things, "El Espíritu Iberoamericano en Ginebra", by the eminent Spanish critic and diplomat, Salvador de Madariaga; "Anvers et l'Amérique Latine dans l'Histoire", by M. Jan Denucé; "A casa de Portugal", by Senhor Francisco de Casanovas (dealing with the medieval commerce between Portugal and Antwerp); "El Tequendama", by the eminent Colombian writer, Sr. E. Cuervo Marquez; "La muerte de José Asunción Silva", by the Bolivian historian and diplomat, Sr. Alcides Argüedas; "Ricardo Palma et les traditions Peruvienes", by Sr. Salvador M. Clavero. There is also a section devoted to recent books and one entitled "A travers les Pays Ibériques" [*i.e.* Hispanic America]. Subscriptions to this excellent review, amounting to sixty Belgian francs per year, may be sent to the Asociación Belgo-Ibero-Americana, 31, Longue Rue Neuve, Antwerp.

In previous numbers of this review reference has been made to the excellent *Revista Americana* of Buenos Aires, now in its tenth year. With commendable zeal, the enterprising editor, Sr. V. Lillo Catalan, has furnished in the special number of January-February, 1934, the third edition of his admirable survey of the periodical literature of all of Hispanic America as well as Spain, under the title of "La Prensa Ibero-Americana, 1934". Only those who have attempted to assemble statistical and other matter from all sections of the Spanish-speaking world can appreciate the magnitude of the task. The new edition of the work is much more comprehensive than its predecessors. The additions include three hundred new addresses, eight hundred more than when the list originally appeared in 1932.

The names of the newspapers and periodicals are arranged alphabetically under the countries and cities, and in the case of the more important items, the directors and publishers are given, together with the dimensions of the paper, the number of pages, the address of the office, and other relevant material. The number of references amounts all told to over five thousand. As Sr. Lillo Catalan well said in the introduction to the 1933 edition: "Todo escritor puede encontrar el eco amigo de un colega deseoso de estrechar vínculos espirituales, o la inquieta solicitud de un lector interesado en aumentar continuamente sus conocimientos".

The Brazilian revolution of 1930 and its aftermath have already been the occasion of a dozen books. Though varying in merit they are none the less all important. One or two have already been mentioned in this REVIEW. Though most of the works have been published in São Paulo they may all be obtained through the Livraria J. Leita, Rua São Jose, 70, Rio de Janeiro. The most important is probably that of Lima Sobrinho Barbosa. The list follows: Marcos Coelho Netto, *No Sector de Quaxupé. A Margem de Acontecimentos desenrolados quando da Revolução paulista* (1933); Renato Jardim, *A Aventura de Outubro e a Invasão de São Paulo* (3d ed., 1932); Mauricio de Lacerda, *2a. Republica* (3d ed., 1931); Lacerda Ortiz, *O que é S. Paulo* (1932); J. de Lemos Ferreirinha, *Porque falhou a Republica Federativa?* (1933); Origenes Lessa, *Não ha de ser nada* (1932); Mattos Pimenta, *Um Grito de Alerta no tumulto da Revolução* (1931); Manoel Osorio, *A Guerra de S. Paulo* (1932) and *Esboço Crítico do maior Movimento armado no Brasil* (1932); Francisco Pati,

Militarismo e Parlamentarismo (1933); J. Rodrigues, *A Mulher Paulista no Movimento Pró-Constituinte* (1933); Lima Sobrinho Barbosa, *A Verdade sobre a Revolução de Outubro* (1933).

Under the title of *Virutas Históricas, 1818-1928* (Buenos Aires, Jesús Menéndez, 1929) Sr. Francisco Centeno, for many years an important official of the Buenos Aires foreign office, has published two bulky volumes of "historical shavings" from Argentine history, mostly diplomatic in character. Here are to be found such disparate documents as the instructions furnished Manuel José Garcíaín, April, 1827, implying the renunciation on the part of the government of Rivadavia of the Banda Oriental, correspondence between Alberdi and Emperor Napoleon III., some hitherto unknown documents regarding the Falkland Islands, the war between Rosas and Santa Cruz of Bolivia, and a complete list of the Argentine executives and ministers of foreign relations. This material, much of it little known or inaccessible, is accompanied by long commentaries by the author. A third volume of documents, drawn chiefly from Spanish sources, yet remains to be published. Despite the somewhat hodge-podge arrangement of this material the book will be of real use to the investigator of Argentine history.

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HISPANIC AMERICAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES

The following list forms the fifth supplement to the compiler's *Hispanic American bibliographies*, published by THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW in 1922.

In the present list will be found titles that have come to the attention of the compiler during the past year. Owing to pressure of work, thorough research in bibliographical repositories and other sources has been impossible. This fact will account, in part at least, for possible notable omissions, and will justify a repetition of the compiler's request for information regarding material not included. It is his desire, by coöperative effort, to make this series of lists a fairly comprehensive review of bibliographies, general reference works, collective biographies, and literary histories relating to Hispanic America.

Among the titles here noted are some of special interest. Dr. Chapman's two works, *Colonial Hispanic America* and *History of the Cuban Republic* are notable contributions to Hispanic American studies. Without attempting an appraisal of their historical merit which has been done in other reviews, the compiler wishes to express his appreciation of the "Essay on authorities" that accompanies each work as a model guide to the bibliography as a necessary implement of the student. An annotated list of the significant and available material in the *mare magnum* of Hispanic American bibliography constitutes an invaluable feature in these two works.

Domingo Díez's *Bibliografía del estado de Morelos* in the series *Monografías bibliográficas mexicanas* is an important contribution to Mexican bibliography. In the same field should be noted another compilation of the distinguished Mexican bibliographer, Juan B. Iguíniz, *Algunas bibliografías bibliográficas mexicanas* published in *El Libro y el pueblo*.

The library of the Pan American Union is continuing its valuable Bibliographic series of which No. 5, *Theses on Pan American topics* is of special interest.

Dr. Caracciolo Parra's *Filosofía universitaria venezolana* and *La instrucción en Caracas* contain valuable biographical and bibliographical data, and Eduardo Schiaffino's *La pintura y la escultura en Argentina* is a repository of information regarding art history.

In concluding these very summary notes, we note a useful addition to Chilean bibliography in *Fuentes bibliográficas para el estudio de la literatura chilena* by that productive scholar, Dr. Raúl Silva Castro.

The compiler is indebted to Rafael Heliodoro Valle for information.

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The work of compiling the catalogue was begun in 1920 under the direction of F. J. Teggart; the examination of the collections in seven libraries, and the selection and preparation of map lists was done by Nicolas George. Cf. Introd. by Raye R. Platt.

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NOTES

Señora Lucila L. de Pérez Díaz is the author of a volume entitled *Bolivianas: Ensayos históricos* (Caracas, Editorial "Elite", 1933, pp. 352). This is one of the *homenajes* "al Libertador en el sesquicentenario de su Natalicio". In her volume, Señora Pérez Díaz discusses: La Proclama de Trujillo; Las "Pellejerías" de Guayaquil; El Sueño de Casacama; El Paso del "Rubicón" Americano; La Contribución de la Mariscalá; and Un Paralelo ¿imposible?. There is a "Bibliografía" of two pages consisting merely of authors and titles without further details; and in common with the great majority of books published in Hispanic America, the volume has no index. There is also an interesting portrait of the "Liberator" which Señora Pérez Díaz states has been unknown hitherto, which was made in Quito probably during the last years of Bolívar's life. The narrative is plentifully interlarded with quotations and there are a few footnotes. The author has something to say of the Bolívar-San Martín controversy, as well as considerable touching General Sucre, the Galahad of the revolution against Spain. The volume would be improved with a preface. Señora Pérez Díaz, who writes sympathetically, and well, has dedicated her volume "A la amada memoria del invidable compañero de mi vida que fue también mi mejor colaborador y crítico".

The Carnegie Institution of Washington, in its two-volume report *The Temple of the Warriors at Chicken Itzá, Yucatan* (Washington, 1931), by Earl E. Morris, Jean Charlot, and Ann Axtell Morris, has published one of the most important archeological reports to come off the press in recent years. The first volume consists of narrative and the second entirely of plates. The narrative volume opens with a "Description of the Temple of the Warriors and edifices adjacent thereto", by Earl H. Morris, who had charge of the excavations of this marvelous piece of archaeological work, which must rank in all time as one of the most valuable pieces of archaeological enterprises ever undertaken. In various sections, each of which is subdivided into various parts, Mr. Morris discusses the "Temple of the Warriors", "The Northwest Colonnade", "The north Colonnade", "Temple of

the Chac Mool", "Excavation", "Temple Offerings", "Repair", "Materials and Methods of Construction". This is followed by a section by Jean Charlot, entitled "Bas-Reliefs of the Temple of the Warriors Cluster", in which after an introduction and a description of the technique employed, are discussed: "Temple of the Chac Mool", and "Temple of the Warriors", each of which is subdivided into various subsections. Mr. Charlot's contribution is terminated by an appendix. The section written by Mrs. Morris, namely, "Murals from the Temple of the Warriors and adjacent Structures", after a short introduction, discusses "Technical Considerations", "Temple of the Chac Mool", "Temple of the Warriors", "Exterior Frescoes", "Northwest Colonnade", "Classification and Analysis of Human Types and Costume", and "Classification of Miscellaneous Subject-Matter", and a "Conclusion". There is a one-page bibliographical list without critical comment. The second volume contains 170 plates, many of them in colors and folding. The narrative volume also has 323 illustrations, the frontispiece being a reproduction in colors of the turquoise mosaic plaque, the finding and restoration of which is described so entertainingly in the books written by Mr. and Mrs. Morris respectively and noticed in this REVIEW for May, 1934. Those who have read the books noted immediately above are now ready to read this very detailed and valuable report. It is not too much to say that the publication of these two volumes marks an epoch in archaeological work in North America. It reflects as high credit on the Carnegie Institution of Washington as did the publication of the archival guides planned by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson. The restoration of the Temple of the Warriors has been a stupendous accomplishment, the magnitude of which is well shown by an examination of these two quarto volumes.

The Indian ceremonials of New Mexico and Arizona find expression in many books. One of the later and certainly one of the best books to appear on this subject is *Dancing Gods* by Erna Fergusson (published 1931, by Alfred A. Knopf, pp. 276, \$3.00). The author treats her subject under the following heads: The Pueblo People; Dances of the Rio Grande Pueblos; Dances of Zuñi Pueblo; The Hopis; Hopi Dances; The Navajos; Navajo Religion; The Apaches; and Apache Dances. These are the Indians with whom the Spaniards early came into contact. Throughout, the volume is writ-

ten in a sympathetic manner and with full appreciation of the artistic elements embodied in the social life of these peoples and in their dances. Incidentally, the case of the Indian is well put.

William A. Read, professor of the English language and literature in Louisiana State University, who has long been interested in place names, has just published (1934) through the Louisiana State University Press, a pamphlet entitled *Florida Place-Names of Indian Origin and Seminole personal Names* (pp. v, 83). This excellent little work is No. 11 of "University Studies". It has no bearing on Hispanic American history beyond the fact that some of the names were first made known by early Spanish explorers.

Lowell Thomas and Frank Schoonmaker have compiled an excellent guide book to Spain as a volume in the series "The American Travelers Guide Book", entitled simply *Spain* (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1932, pp. 257, \$2.50). The volume is up-to-date, having been compiled entirely since the establishment of the Spanish republic. In their preface, the authors state that while there are four complete and fairly authoritative guides in the English language to Spain, the present book is cheaper, less bulky, and up-to-date. It is the only book that tells the traveler of the service of the "Patronato Nacional del Turismo". A visitor who expects to make a comprehensive study of Spain and to remain there a considerable time is advised to take with him certain books including Baedeker and Muirhead, as this present book will not entirely suit his needs. *Spain* gives information on less than one hundred cities, which is all the average short-time traveler will need to know anything of. For such persons, it can be recommended with a clear conscience.

Ernest W. Olmsted and Raymond L. Gresiner, of the department of Romance Languages of the University of Minnesota have compiled another Spanish grammar. This volume, *First Spanish Grammar*, was published by the Macmillan Company in 1933 (pp. 352). With the excellent Spanish grammars already available, it might seem rash for any scholars to compile another. A cursory examination of this volume, however, will dispel any doubts as to its usefulness. It was compiled "for the purpose of introducing Spanish to the student as rapidly and as simply as possible. . . . A special feature is the ex-

tensive use of cognates". Other special features are embodied in the volume. It would appear that the teacher can use it with benefit to himself and his pupils.

Joseph Carroll McConnell, the author of *The West Texas Frontier; or a Descriptive History of Early Times in Western Texas* (Jacksboro, Gazette Print, privately published, 1933. Pp. iii, 334. Illus. \$5.30), is a lawyer at Fort Worth. The early chapters trace briefly the activities of Spain and France in Texas but will be read with little profit by those versed in Hispanic-American history, as there is no original matter. The author in part indifferently paraphrases Bolton's *Texas in the Middle 18th Century*, otherwise relying on old, unreliable works—H. H. Bancroft's and early Texas histories. The germane researches of W. E. Dunn, I. J. Cox, J. F. Rippey, W. C. Binkley, W. P. Webb, W. C. Holden and others are not mentioned or used. The author tells us his "is an original work". Had Mr. McConnell consulted studies more recent than Bancroft he would have known that LaSalle was murdered near the Brazos and not on the Trinity (p. 5) and that the Spanish did not retreat from East Texas in 1719 because they were "driven" back by a French force under la Harpe and St. Denis (p. 18). The fact, which he "discovers" (pp. 17-19), that the "Old Spanish Fort" South of the Red River was an "Old French Fort" built in 1719 has, with its history, been long known to students, from Margry's *Découvertes et Etablissements*, VI. 261-264, and other sources. The rôle of Texas in diplomacy after 1800, the disputed western frontier in Mexican relations, and later Mexican-Texan border troubles are matters not touched upon. A list of American *empresarios* in Texas is followed by an account, taken largely from Josiah Gregg and G. W. Kendall, of Mexican and Texan frontier raids from 1841 to 1843. After this the book is "local history", being a series of county histories, pioneer settlements, Indian fights and relations, and descriptions of early military forts and trading posts. In this part of the book the author makes some contributions, largely reminiscent information derived from "Old Settlers" and Indian fighters. The book is marred by faults of grammar, punctuation, and diction. "Perez" (p. 5) should be Pez, "Toran" (p. 6) should be Terán, and "Galvin" (p. 24) should be Galván. There is no index, but perhaps, as the cover is labeled Vol. I, a second volume is to appear which will supply one.—R. R. STENBERG.

Helen C. Fernald and Edwin M. Slocombe have written a novel called *The Scarlet Fringe* (Longmans, Green & Co. London, New York, and Toronto, 1932). The scene of the story is laid in old Peru in the sixteenth century and takes its name from the scarlet fringe which was bound about the head of the Inca. There is a short foreword which states some of the salient facts concerning the old Peruvian civilization and the administration of the state. The story opens some time after the advent of the Spaniards, the murder of Atahualpa, the crowning of Manco, and the latter's plottings against the invader. The story ends with the death of Manco and the flight of a small company who are supposed to have taken refuge in the old citadel now known as Macchu Piccu. The story, with its fanciful parts, has been handled rather well.

The Arthur H. Clark Co. of Glendale, California has issued (1932) the sixth edition, revised and enlarged, of Grace Raymond Hebard's *The Pathbreakers from River to Ocean: The Story of the Great West from the Times of Coronado to the Present* (pp. 312). The volume is intended as a school textbook and, to judge from the editions that have been published, has met with success. A considerable part of the volume is naturally concerned with the Spanish contribution. Thus, in the first chapter is narrated something of the Coronado expedition, and the little known excursion of Zebulon Pike into Spanish territory. In the third chapter, something is said of the Santa Fé Trail and the Gila Route and the old Spanish trail; and Chapter IV is the stirring story of the missions with all their heroism, much of this being Spanish. The Mexican War occupies pp. 185-190 of Chapter V. For its purpose, the volume is excellent.

An organization known as "Sociedad Panameña de Acción Internacional" has published in English under the imprint of the Society (Panama, 1934) a 122-page pamphlet entitled *Panama-United States Relations*. This contains material as follows: "Complete text of the joint Statement of Presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harmodio Arias"; "Bunau Varilla's Perfidy or How the Panamanians were betrayed", by A. V. McGeachy, editor of the *Star and Herald* of Panama; "The Basis of Panama-United States Relations", by P. R. Shailer; "The New Deal and United States-Panama Relations", by P. R. Shailer; "A Strange Metamorphosis", by J. Rivera Reyes;

"The nullifying Defects of the Canal Treaty", by J. Rivera Reyes; "Panama's official condemnation of the Canal Treaty and its treacherous Co-Author"; and "A Message from the Panamanian People to the People of the United States". The Board of directors of the Society for 1934 consists of J. Rivera Reyes, J. Daniel Crespo, A. Méndez Pereira, Cecilio Moreno, Publio A. Vásquez, Manuel A. Díaz E., E. J. Castellero R., and Juan Arosemena Q.

The Macmillan Company has published in very excellent format (1933) revised editions of its two volumes on the "Political and Social Growth of the United States"—the first by Homer Carey Hockett, for the years 1492-1852, and the second by Arthur Meier Schlesinger for the years 1852-1933. Both volumes, which are intended for textbooks, are priced at \$3.00 each. In his preface to the second edition of his volume, Professor Hockett calls attention to the incorporation in his work of the first eight chapters (rewritten by him) which appeared originally in the first edition of Professor Schlesinger's volume. The growing importance of "American" history in contradistinction to "United States" history is shown in the third chapter of Professor Hockett's book, namely "Spanish America". Various other parts of the volume (pp. 652) are of interest to the student of Hispanic America, as can readily be seen in the comprehensive table of contents. Attention should perhaps be directed to Chapter XXIII on "Expansion", in which the purchase of Florida and the Monroe Doctrine are discussed, and Chapter XXXI on "Slavery and Expansion", 1843-1848", in which the annexation of Texas and the War with Mexico are treated. Professor Schlesinger's volume also has considerable material relating to the relations between the United States and Hispanic America, including, among other things, the Spanish American war and matters related thereto. Both volumes meet the purpose for which they were written. A feature in each volume is the select bibliography at the end of each chapter. Both volumes prove the futility of attempting to write American history to the exclusion of the part played by Hispanic America.

The veteran naturalist, Raymond Ditmars, whose works on reptiles are so well known, is the author of *The Forest of Adventure*, a Macmillan book of 1933 (pp. ix, 258, 12, plates, \$2.50). Under a thin veneer of fiction, Dr. Ditmars, who knows his tropical America

thoroughly, depicts an expedition by certain scientists of various interests, who have been brought together by a "nationally known mechanical engineer" under the auspices of a capitalist in need of adventure. In his preface, the author says that in writing this volume, it is his wish "to give the reader a good 'seasoning' in tropical adventure". He believes "that among the world's most marvelous wild areas is the mainland tropic zone, a bit over a week by steamer, in a straight southerly course from the United States". The book is really the result of numerous letters received by Dr. Ditmars whenever one of his trips to tropical America is announced; and he hopes in this way to show his readers something of the restrictions and difficulties to be encountered, as well as the joys of accomplishment. The personages and names in the book are fictitious, but the animal life described is true. The main effort is expended in the capture of a giant armadillo known as "mawoorimah". "This is not a story", says Dr. Ditmars,

of veteran explorers accepting everything in a matter of fact way. The tale relates to very human people going into jungles, which to them are thrilling and new.

There are some very excellent descriptions in the volume, although the story is at times somewhat stilted. Its chief value lies in the knowledge it exudes of the tropics and the preparations one should master when going upon an expedition. Those going to the tropics for the first time will find its perusal useful.

Catholic Mission History, by Joseph Schmidlin, D.D., professor of Missiology at the University of Muenster, is a translation from the original German, made by Matthias Braun, S.V.D. (Techny, Illinois, Mission Press, S.V.D., 1933). This substantial volume of xiv, 862 pages, priced at Five Dollars, is divided into four sections, namely, The Early Christian Mission; The Medieval Mission; The Missions of the modern Epoch; and The World Mission in recent Times. Only the third and fourth sections have reference to Hispanic America. In section III, part III, "Introduction of Christianity into America" (pp. 352-451), the author discusses: The Antilles (from Columbus to Las Casas); Spanish America (Peru); The Jesuit Reductions of Paraguay; The Brazilian Mission; Mexico and adjacent Lands; and Indian missions of North America: the Territory of the Atlantic

Coast. The last sub section deals in part with the Jesuit missions to Spanish Florida. In section IV, part III, "Among the primitive Peoples of the other Continents", No. 3 (pp. 674-685) treats of the missions of South and Central America. The missions in the Philippines, which are discussed in part II of section III ("Conversion of the Philippines", pp. 317-326) and part II of section IV, No. 5 ("The Philippines and Indonesia", pp. 633-643) should be noted here as they have a very close connection with Hispanic America, whence many of the missionaries came. The book is a mine of bibliography. For Florida, the works published by The Florida State Historical Society, namely, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, 2 vols., by Mrs. Jeannette Thurber Connor, and *The Luna Papers*, 2 vols., by Herbert Ingram Priestley, should have been noted. The work is epochal, fairly bristling with information. The space given to Florida, however, is all too scant. For the missions in South America, much has been brought together that will be found of value to the student of missions. The work is called "the first scientific Catholic Mission History". There is an excellent index. On p. 434, the year of Father Luis Cancer's noble attempt and martyrdom should be 1547 instead of 1549. It would appear that no one can henceforth write of the missions in America at least without consulting this work.

Joseph L. Clark is the author of *The Story of Texas* (Row, Peterson & Co., Philadelphia, New York, and San Francisco, [c1932], pp. xii, 360, xxiv). This volume was written especially for the children of Texas of the 5th or 6th school year. The first 48 pages relate to the early Spanish explorations, the coming of the French, and the definite taking of possession by the Spaniards. The second part or unit relates to the settlement of Texas by people from the United States, especially by Stephen F. Austin, events leading up to the Texas revolution, the revolution, the independence of Texas, the period of the republic, annexation to the United States, and the later history of the state. As a patriotic state history for youth it is well written and states the salient facts clearly and briefly.

Public Opinion and the Spanish American War, by Marcus M. Wilkerson (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1932, pp. 141) is an attempt to show the influence of the United States press in causing opposition to Spanish rule in Cuba and finally in bringing

about the intervention of the United States in the island. The author states that his study "is an indictment of the war-mongering press", but "it serves also to show the great power of newspapers when they work together in fostering international hatred and distrust"; and he argues (p. ii) that "the united efforts of an enlightened press would prove tremendously effective in creating the condition of world peace and a better understanding among all nations". Most of the material for the study, which was begun at the University of Wisconsin and finished at the University of Louisiana, comes from newspaper files and periodicals. The study is divided into nine chapters, namely: News service and special correspondence; Filibustering and sensational journalism: Spanish "atrocities" in Cuba; Popular reaction to Cuban "Oppression"; Newspaper campaign for Cuban belligerency; The "New Journalism"; The Maine Disaster; The demand for war; and Misrepresentations of the Yellow Press. There is a bibliography consisting of documents, general works, specific periodical articles, and newspapers consulted. The bibliography shows that research was made in seventeen newspapers published in Atlanta, Boston, Charleston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New Orleans, New York, San Francisco, and Washington, D. C. This study should be compared with that recently made by Professor Julius Pratt in this REVIEW, which shows quite another side of the forming of opinion by periodicals.

COMMUNICATION¹

Bogotá, abril 30/34

Estimado señor Editor:

Me refiero al escrito publicado en la entrega de esa revista correspondiente al pasado febrero, y en el cual el Sr. Dominic Salandra pregunta si debemos escribir Porto Bello, Puerto Bello o Portobelo. Con gusto satisfago tal requisitoria, manifestando que, a mi juicio, el vocablo debe escribirse Portobelo.

Esta es la ortografía que le aplica don Fernando Colón en su *Historia del Almirante* (II. 168, Ed. Madrid) libro que escribió teniendo a la vista los manuscritos de su padre quien fué el bautizante de aquel puerto, acto que, por mas señas, presencié don Fernando.

Porto, que viene del latín *portus*, es arcaismo de nuestro actual *puerto*. La voz *porto* fué usada en español antiguo y como ejemplo tenemos a Portonao, portezuelo situado en la bahía de Cartagena de Indias. En español moderno se aceptó la forma puerto, pero muchos de sus derivados conservan aún la ortografía primitiva, como aportar (llegar al puerto) porteño (lo concerniente al puerto).

En lo tocante a Belo, el vocablo escríbese en español con *elle* (ll) y *nó* con *ele* (l); de igual manera se escribe en portugués y en italiano, que son las lenguas románicas más semejantes a la nuestra. La voz se deriva del latín y en esta lengua se escribe *bellus*, mas la *elle* (ll) latina *nó* se pronuncia de la misma manera que se articula en español, sinó con un acento de suave dispersión, algo así como dos *eles* separadas levísimamente: *bel-lo*.

Ahora bien: en los pasados siglos aún no estaba fijada nuestra ortografía, y quienes sabían latín en ese entónces (y Colón lo conocía) al escribir el vocablo podían inclinarse a darle su sonido latino consistente en las dos *eles* paladeadas, que fonéticamente representaban cosa semejante a una sola *ele*, y así, al pronunciar la palabra "bello", recordando el *bellus* latino, hacíanla sonar *belo*, y, de consiguiente, *belo* escribían. Por este tenor, de *Gallecia* hicimos Galicia, de *libellus*, libelo, de *apellare*, apelar, de *gallicus*, gálico, de *carabella*, carabela, &c.

Demostrado lo anterior diremos, que la voz "Portobelo" se compone de "Porto", arcaismo de nuestro actual "Puerto", y de "Belo", forma usada en ocasiones para escribir en lo antiguo el adjetivo "Bello", siguiendo la eufonía latina. Si fuéramos a escribir este vocablo en español moderno deberíamos estampar "Puerto Bello", mas respetando la modalidad adoptada por Colón, y siguiendo la tradición guardada en nuestra lengua sobre conservación ortográfica de los nombres propios, forzosamente debemos escribir el vocablo tal cual lo escribió Colón cuando dió nombre al paraje: Portobelo, así como escribimos hoy Portonao, sin que a nadie se le haya ocurrido reformar o modernizar este nombre escribiendo Puerto de la Nave.

¹ See note by Dominic Salandra, "Porto Bello, Puerto Bello, or Portobelo?" in this REVIEW for February, 1934.—Ed.

Creo así haber satisfecho la pregunta del estudioso Sr. Salandra, dejando establecido que, el nombre de Portobelo fué impuesto a la bahía (de donde lo tomó posteriormente la población) por el Almirante don Cristóbal Colón, como también que la ortografía de ese nombre tiene su razón de ser y su derecho a subsistir.

Sienta el Sr. Salandra otros interesantes preguntas relacionadas con la historia de nuestra América que ojalá procuraran contestar los lectores de la revista capacitados para ello. De mi parte atentaré a responder a tres de ellas, relacionadas con la historia de Colombia.

Fué Balboa decapitado en 1517, 1518 o 1519? Pregunta el señor Salandra.

Sobre este punto de cronología los historiadores de Indias no han venido conformes. Herrera, por ejemplo, sitúa la muerte del descubridor del Pacífico en 1517; Washington Irving la infiere en 1518, y por ese tenor los demás. Mas parece indudable que el trágico suceso ocurrió en 1519, porque el *Mandamiento procesal* de Pedrarias, que termina pidiendo al Juez que sin mas "remisiones ni dilaciones" se proceda a la sentencia de muerte, está fechado en la villa de Acla el 12 de enero de 1519, detalle que, al establecer este año como el de la muerte, descarta la posibilidad de que ella hubiera podido cumplirse en los dos años anteriores arriba mencionados. No se encuentra o se conoce el dato preciso sobre el mes y día de la ejecución, mas si parece fuera de toda duda que esta se cumplió en 1519, quizá el mismo 12 de enero, o muy pocos días después. El *Mandamiento* a que hago referencia se halla en el Archivo General de Indias, en Sevilla, y fué publicado en el tomo XXXVII, página 215 de la *Colección de documentos inéditos de Indias*.²

Pregunta asimismo el Sr. Salandra: Cómo debemos decir: Benalcázar, Belalcázar, Benalcázer ó Moyano?

Empezaremos por suprimir a *Benalcázer*, forma que pienso pueda obedecer a simple error ortográfico de algún autor descuidado o mal informado, o a yerro de imprenta. Cuanto al caso de *Moyano*, la versión es muy dudosa; proviene del Inca Garcilazo, cronista posterior a la conquista y cuyos datos en ocasiones (como parece ser la presente) fueron bebidos en la tradición oral; ningún otro cronista coetáneo o anterior le acompaña en la propagación de esta especie; al contrario, Oviedo, amigo de Benalcázar y su mlite en las jornadas del Darién, y cronista el mas reputado de estas Indias, escribe siempre *Benalcázar* y dice por mas señas que el origen y naturaleza del conquistador "es de la villa de Benalcázar". Castellanos, quien asistió a muchos sucesos de nuestra conquista, también le llama Benalcázar, y declara perentoriamente (Elegías, *Historia de Popayán*) que este apelativo le venía del nombre de su pueblo nativo, la referida villa. De manera que el dato aislado de Garcilazo queda excluído, o al menos en cuarentena rigurosa mientras aparezca una versión fehaciente que lo venga a abonar.

Descartados *Benalcázar* y *Moyano*, quedarían en el palenque las formas *Benalcázar* con *ene*, y *Belalcázar* con *ele*. Y vamos a la disección.

Pudiera darnos la clave la firma del insigne conquistador, pero como él nó sabía escribir (lo cual está muy bien averiguado) la prueba gráfica no puede ha-

² See C. W. Hackett, "The Delimitation of Political Jurisdictions in Spanish North America to 1535," in this REVIEW, I. 46-47.—Ed.

llarse. Quienes firmaban por él, unas veces (por cierto la mayor parte de ellas) lo hacían con *ene*, y otras con *ele*, según puede verse en el Libro Verde que se custodia en el Cabildo de Quito y en otros documentos históricos. Fallada esta pesquisa quedan dos recursos para dirimir la cuestión: I. La forma en que escribieran el dicho apellido los historiadores de aquellos tiempos. II. La etimología del vocablo.

Cuanto a lo primero, hallamos que sus contemporáneos Oviedo y Castellanos escribieron Benalcázar, con *ene*; pero en cambio, Cieza de León, también su coetáneo y amigo, escribe Belalcázar, con *ele*. Hay pues, anarquía en lo que toca con este recurso, y por lo tanto, no resulta aprovechable para dirimir la cuestión. Pasemos al II que versa sobre la etimología del patronímico.

Benalcázar o Belalcázar, compónese de dos partículas. En el primer caso descompónese así: Ben-alcázar; y en el segundo: Bel-alcázar. Analicemos.

Salta a la vista que la segunda partícula, *alcasar*, es voz árabe, y efectivamente, proviene de *alcazr* que significa *fortaleza*; luego si uno de los componentes del vocablo resulta árabe, lógicamente habrá que buscar el origen del otro componente dentro de la misma lengua. Veamos.

Ben proviene de *beni* que en árabe significa *hijos*, y es vocablo muy socorrido para la formación de los gentilicios árabes, en cuya misión pierde generalmente la *i* final al ligarse con otra palabra que empiece por vocal, huyendo de la cacofonía. Así, *ben(i)alcasar* traduce *los hijos de la fortaleza*, esto es: los nativos del paraje, villa o ciudad, de la fortaleza.

El genio del idioma árabe admite fácil y frecuentemente la composición de estos gentilicios y la toponimia hispanoárabe nos ofrece una gran cantidad de ejemplos: Benhadux, pueblo de la provincia de Almería; Benalmádena, villa de la provincia de Málaga; Benamaurel, en la de Granada; Benamejí, en Córdoba; Benalúa, en Granada; Benamocarra, en Málaga. En nombres cuyo segundo componente empieza por consonante, se conserva preferentemente la *i*, verbigracia: Benifairó, en Valencia, Benitagla, en Almería, Benisa, en Alicante &c. En Marruecos hallamos la kabila de los Benihuayel (los hijos de la torre) y otra de los Benimezdui, ó los hijos del pinar, es decir: los pinarenses.

Estos ejemplos autorizan nuestra afirmación y dan satisfactorio pié para declarar, como lo declaramos, que el vocablo que hemos venido estudiando es árabe y que, para acoplarlo a su legítima etimología debe de escribirse con *ene*, esto es: Benalcázar, que significa, los hijos de la fortaleza, o los de la fortaleza, o, como diríamos en español: los fortaleceños o los alcazareños, nacionalizando el vocablo en nuestra lengua. Esta adopción se compadece exactamente con los antecedentes históricos, porque desde los tiempos romanos existió en aquel paraje (y aún existe) una fortaleza, a cuya sombra se desarrolló la villa, patria del fundador de Popayán.

Respeto del alegado componente *Bel*, infiero que su origen radica en la latinización hecha por los hispanos del legítimo componente semítico, convirtiendo así el *ben* árabe (hijos de) en el *bel* latino nacido de *bellus* que dice *bello* en español; así, latinizada la partícula, Belalcázar diría el bello alcázar o la bella fortaleza, como cuando decimos en español Belmonte (otro apellido) que traduce *monte bello*. El vocablo compuesto en tal forma puede que resulte hasta poético, pero es

inadmisibles como que constituye una hibridación espuria en la cual se pretende amalgamar el latín con el árabe.

Para terminar esta ya larga disertación hagamos una consideración final.

En los casos de duda sobre cuestiones de lenguaje se acostumbra apelar a los escritos de los Clásicos, como suprema autoridad. En la ocasión presente apelaremos a Cervantes quien al escribir la Segunda Parte del Quijote dedicó el libro al Conde de Benalcazar (con *ene*), y téngase presente que Miguel de Cervantes, "el Príncipe de la lengua castellana" no tan solo es una autoridad en ella; podría serlo, también, hasta cierto punto, en la arábica, como que es sabido que en ella se instruyó durante su largo cautiverio en Argel. Por cierto que al introducir en su famoso libro al fingido autor que bautizó con el nombre de Cide Hamete Benengeli (que Sancho pronunciaba *berengena*) buscó en ello un curioso pseudónimo, porque Benengeli traduce *hijo del ciervo*, ó sea, hijo de Cervantes, queriendo, significar su propio cerebro.

Punto final a este punto gramatical y pasemos a otro bélico.

¿Cuántos hombres perdió Vernon en su ataque a Cartagena en 1741: 1800 ó 18,000? Pregunta el Sr Salandra.

Los autores de lengua inglesa que conozco no dan este detalle, que no deja de tener gran importancia en la historia del suceso, porque él revela, o da idea, de cual fuera la magnitud del desastre. Me refiero a Sir Frederick Treves en su *The Cradle of the Deep*, a Douglas Ford en su *Admiral Vernon and the Navy*, a Russell Hart en sus *Admirals of the Caribbean*. Este último, que por cierto encuentro el mas autorizado, apenas cuenta que el infortunado "Old Grog" llevaba bajo sus banderas 30,600 hombres en 124 naves, así: 15,000 marinos; 12,000 soldados ingleses y 3600 de tropas coloniales, entre los cuales, por cierto, iba Lawrence Washington, hermano del libertador de los EE. UU., y quien dió, en memoria del Almirante, el nombre de Mount Vernon a la conocida residencia donde murió el grande hombre.

Ignoro si en otras fuentes inglesas o americanas que hayan escrito sobre estas materias se llene tal vacío, si bien pienso que, tal vez, el dato exacto no se logre obtener, porque parece que entre las tropas de Vernon no se llevó una estadística necrológica, la que, por otra parte, habría sido difícil llevar, dada la gran extensión del teatro de las operaciones, el gran número de tropas, y la desorganización y anarquía reinantes en el ejército sitiador.

Pero si en las fuentes inglesas nada encuentro, en cambio conozco los datos que trae el "Diario" de operaciones que llevó en Cartagena el ejército español durante los días del sitio. Según este documento, los muertos ascendieron a 11,893 distribuidos así:

Marinos	6,500
Soldados	5,349
Oficiales	44

Gran parte de esta mortandad se debió a la disenteria y otras pestes. Conviene añadir, como dato curioso, que según el referido "Diario," el Virrey defendió la plaza con 2424 soldados, cuyos componentes se detallan en el mencionado documento.

Debo advertir que la apreciación sobre los muertos que sucumbieron en aquella memorable función de armas, la basó el Virrey Eslava en datos que le dieron los prisioneros capturados, según se declara en un impreso publicado en Madrid en 1741, y en el cual se hizo la "Relacion" de estos acontecimientos militares.

Dejo así, Sr. Editor, contestadas las preguntas que, en lo que atañe a la historia de Colombia, plantea el Sr. Salandra, respuestas que someto a su reconocida ilustración por si las halla de interés pueda darlas a conocer, a los estudiosos, en las páginas de su importante Revista.

El Sr. Salandra considera estos puntos (y los demás que expone en su escrito) como "minor problems" de nuestra historia americana, es decir, lo que llamaríamos en español "minucias históricas".

Mas si, a primera vista parecen minucias, pienso yo que tal vez en el fondo nó lo sean. Porque, quien que quisiera escribir mañana un estudio sobre el insigne descubridor del Océano Pacífico, no sentiría contrariedad rematarlo sin lograr definir el año de la muerte del ilustre biografiado? Y quien que escriba sobre la recia figura del Adelantado Benalcázar no se sentirá desazonado al experimentar dudas sobre el punto de cómo deba usar la ortografía de un apellido que es el centro de su disquisición, en la cual debe de ser llevado y traído a cada párrafo? Y quien que se ocupe de la interesante página americana que discurre sobre la expedición de Vernon nó se mortificará al nó hallar el dato, siquiera aproximado, de la cantidad de muertos, de manera de poder graduar con esa cifra, cual fuera la magnitud del desastre de aquella desgraciada aventura? Y, por último, quien que al ocuparse de tantos sucesos de nuestra historia, ocurridos desde el siglo de Colón hasta el de MacGregor, tropezando frecuentemente con el nombre de Portobelo, nó experimentará contrariedad al confrontar el problema de cómo deba escribir con acierto ese tan traginado nombre geográfico?

Si con estas, mis líneas, he logrado aclarar y establecer, nó digamos todos los puntos en ellas tratados, pero siquiera uno solo, me tendría por bien pagado. En todo caso, ojalá que ellas puedan reportar alguna utilidad para los lectores de esa Revista.

Del Sr. Editor, suyo afectísimo

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